

REPORT

OF THE

45th Indian National Congress.

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FOREWORD.

The report of the Karachi Sessions of the Congress was just ready for print when there was fresh fight with the Government in the beginning of 1932. The sudden arrest of leaders not only upset the arrangements for publication of the report but owing to peculiar circumstances attending the fight, most of the records of the report were lost. It was with great difficulty that whatever was available of the lost material was recollected and consequently many shortcomings have crept in the report that is now being submitted. The Reception Committee begs to be excused for these shortcomings which were due to unforeseen circumstances.

INTRODUCTION.

The 45th Session of the I. N. Congress was held at Karachi under circumstances that were memorable and unique. The Gandhi-Irwin Truce had brought to a provisional conclusion the first pitched battle between the National Congress and the alien Government of India, and the Session of the Congress was in fact a council of war to decide if the Truce provided a proper basis for peace. The Weapon of Satyagraha had been tried and tested, for the first time, on an unprecedented scale, and a new hope filled the Nation with the unquestioned success that it had achieved. The non-Co-operation Movement of 1921 was acknowledged by the powers that be, to have come within an ace of success; the Civil Disobedience Campaign of 1930 certainly were far beyond it and transcended the expectations of the most optimistic of Congressmen: it seemed like success itself. Government of India felt obliged to hang Bhagatsingh on the eve of the Congress to make its existence felt, while never before had a session of the Congress been held under circumstances of greater buoyancy and confidence, the task of organizing the Congress was one of the equally unprecedented difficulty. The General release of Congress Leaders took place only a fortnight before the Session was to commence. Only a handful of workers had finished their sentences a little earlier and those were patriotically supported by the entire Mercantile Community of Karachi that had stood by the Congress throughout the Campaign and made wonderful sacrifices. Thanks to the Karachi Municipality and its President who placed the entire resources of the Municipality at the disposal of the

Session. The reception Committee was formed while our comrades were still in prison and set to work, to complete in a fortnight what usually takes much bigger towns than Karachi in normal circumstances almost the whole year to accomplish. A sum of Rs .90,000/- was collected in a few days and meanwhile the best engineering talent in the town was harnessed to the Creation of the *Harchandrai Nagar*, as the Congress Camp was called after the first Sind Congress-man who dominated the 1913 Session of the Congress held in Karachi and who literally laid down his life in the services of the country travelling to Delhi against the advise of this medical advisers, in most precarious health to record his vote against the Simon Commission.

The site chosen for the Nagar was the large open space round the Roubrite factory where now slowly the second Amil Co-operative Colony is rearing its head. Hardly a mile from the camp was the Central Prison. Three weeks of ceaseless toil of three thousand workmen labouring day and night under the directions of a hundred men forming different communities brought into existence a model township with its well laid roads, plentiful water-supply, modern conservancy, and neat little huts and tents to house ten thousand delegates and visitors and a spacious stadium to seat fifty thousand persons besides shamianas and pandals to house the Subjects Committee, the Khadi exhibition and a big Swadeshi Bazaar.

The sketch of the Nagar is given to scale.

A structural feature that deserves special mention

i, e. the Stadium open to the sky which was entirely a new departure that commended itself to every body. Happily the plot selected for the Nagar happened to include the old Roubrite factory enclosure which just fitted it with our requirements. The enclosure was turned into perhaps the finest and the most comfortable habitation in which a Congress Session has ever been held. Here under the canopy of the blue sky, on a cloth flooring of rich red, green and white, the three colours of the national flag, the golden sun sinking slaughtered to its resting place in the west, with the pale waxing moon rising over head, the Session commenced every evening while cool soft spring breezes carassed the crowd and the artistic picture below was completed by mysterious stars rising every hour in their age-appointed places.

DECORATIONS :—The stadium was artistically decorated. Gay tri-colours fluttered over a circular wall round the stadium, and the rostrum and the President's dais under a richly decorated canopy were a veritable feast of colours. Light green pillars, bordering on the edges of the various platforms, bore crowds of shaded light imparting a cool and subdued glow. Special lights illuminated the high-perched rostrum to which the speaker rose by a flight of steps. and two powerful spot lights, placed at a height of over 30 feet, flooded the stadium from two opposite sides. Loud speakers were installed at convenient spaces all over the stadium and, thanks to the Chicago Telephone Company of Bombay, who were in charge of them, they served efficiently throughout the sessions, carrying the voice of every speaker distinctly to every nook and corner of the stadium.

KHADDAR ALL ROUND :—The entire decorations in the stadium were of Khaddar : not an inch of swadeshi cloth or foreign trinklet was used. Red, green and white sheets of Khaddar covered the floor, the platforms, and the pillars and posts ; and the soft quilts that adorned the presidential dais were also of Khaddar. So were the fringes and trappings and other decorative material all of Khaddar. And the whole gathering was a forest of Gandhi caps.

VOLUNTEERS :—The Success that attended the organisation of the Session was due very largely to the corps of 3000 volunteers including 500 women. Nearly 600 of these came from Bombay for which our thanks are due to the Bombay National Militia and other volunteer organizations. We are conscious of the difficulties and strain to which the volunteers were exposed. Their quarters were the last to be completed while they were the first in the field with their trying duties. Their uniforms took time to be tailored and a large number had to get on with only one suit with inadequate washing arrangements, but they bore it all cheerfully and maintained their discipline to the last.

FEEDING ARRANGEMENT :—The cleanly kept and well-ordered kitchen and the neat, spacious and comfortable dining hall made an inviting appearance. The variety the quality of food was appreciated by those who availed themselves of the feeding arrangements which were made by a batch of leading Gujarati merchants.

DRINKING-WATER SUPPLY :—A novel feature of this Sessions of the Congress was the arrangement of drinking-

water supply made by the Shikharpuri Seva Mandal from early morning to late at night the volunteers of the mandal supplied water to people visiting the Congress Nagar most untiringly and courteously.

DEMONSTRATION Lecture:—In order to give an opportunity to masses to hear Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders an open demonstration was held to which admission was made by four annas tickets, about forty thousand people attended the demonstration and it proved a great success.

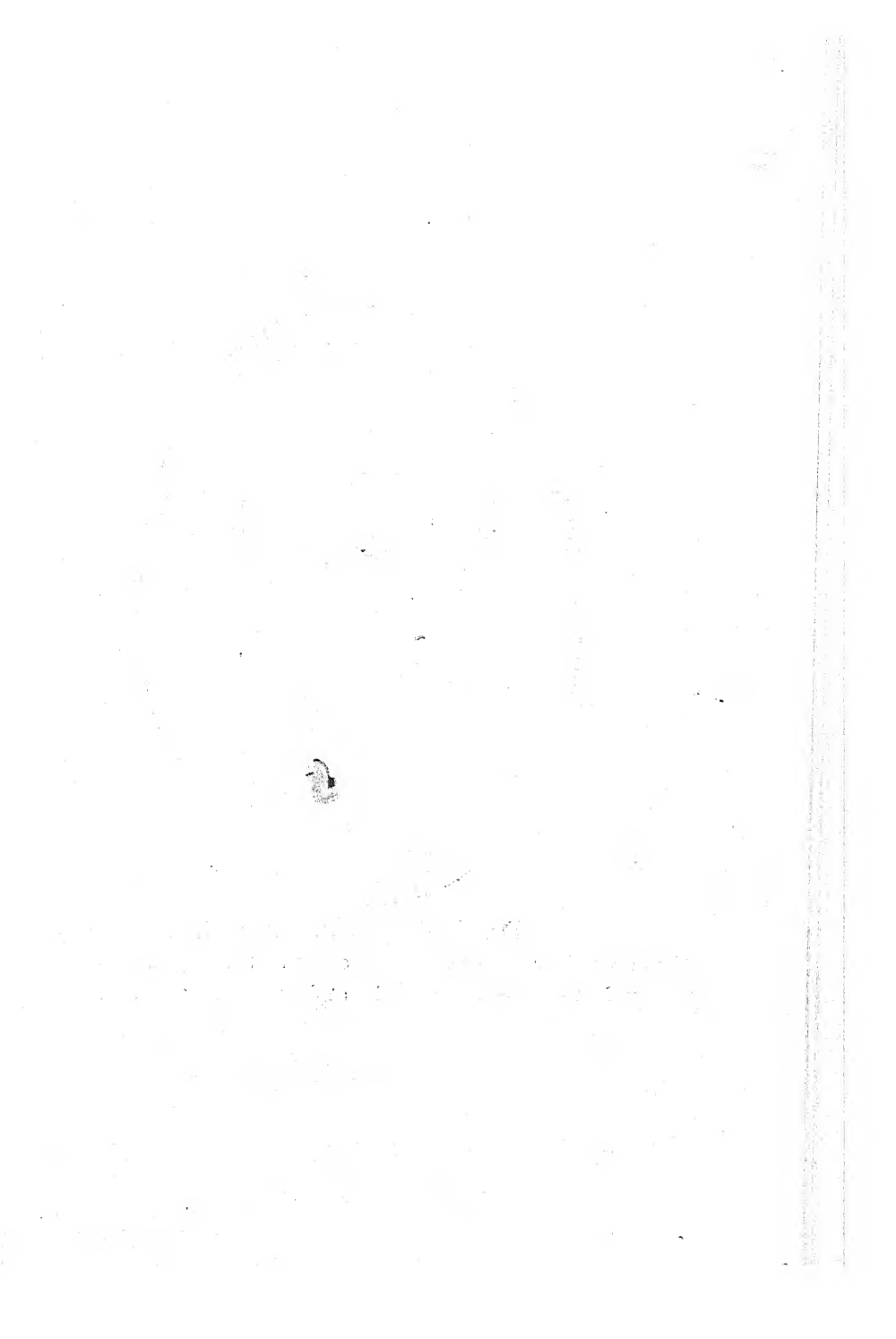
CONDUCT OF BUSINESS:—The introduction may fittingly be concluded by a note on the conduct of business which, no less than the arrangements above described, was a great improvement on most of the previous sessions.

Punctually at 6. P. M. the business commenced on the three days that the Congress was in sessions, each day's sittings lasting for above 6 hours. Within the short space of about 20 hours, a heavy agenda was disposed of, including resolutions on such controversial subjects as the ratification of the Gandhi-Irwin pact, affirming of the Lahore Independence Resolution, the Fundamental Rights Resolution and the resolution on Sardar Bhagatsingh. This was due in no small measure to the business-like habits of mind of Sardar Valabhbhai Patel, the President.

PEACEFUL PROCEEDINGS:—Another notable feature of the business proceedings was their thoroughly peaceful and smooth conduct without any scenes of uproarious turbulence of untoward incidents.

Names of the Members of Working Committee of the Reception Committee.

Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani.	<i>Chairman</i>
Swami Govindanand, Moulvi Mohomed Sidique, Sjt Naraindas Anandji. Shrimati Kikiben, Acharya Gidwani. Lala Jaswantraï Churmani. Sjt Naraindas Lalji.	<i>Vice Chairmen</i>
Sjt R. K. Sidhwa. Dr, Tarachand J. Lalvani, Sjt Mulji Narsi.	<i>General Secretaries.</i>
Sjt Ram Motwani. Sjt Manilal Vyas Miss Parpati Gidwani.	<i>Secretaries.</i>
Sjt Santdas Idanmal,	<i>Secretary Ladies Section.</i>
Sjt Lalchand Panachand Sjt Issardas Varandmal	<i>General Officer Commanding.</i>
Seth Doongersi Dharmsi	<i>Treasnrer</i>
Sjt Shivdas Velji	<i>"</i>
Sjt, D. D. Chodury	<i>Secretary Food Committee</i>
Sjt, Jeramdas Doulatram,	<i>" Steamer facilities Com.</i>
Sjt Shivram Chawn	<i>" Railway " "</i>
Maharaj Rewachand	<i>" Collection Committee,</i>
Sjt Gulrajmal	<i>" Receiving Delegates"</i>
Dr. Popatlal, A.Bhoopalkar	<i>" Stores Committee</i>
Swami Krishnanand	<i>" Transport " "</i>
Sjt Lalji mahotra	<i>" Hospital " "</i>
Sjt Ghansham Jethanand	<i>Delegate Accomodation Committee</i>
Sjt N R Malkani	<i>Secretary Special Camp</i>
Mahraj Vishnu Sharma	<i>" Subjects Committee</i>
Sjt C. T. Valecha	<i>" Arrangement " "</i>
Sjt Parsram V Pahliranani,	<i>" Pandal Arragement</i>
	<i>" Procession Committee</i>
	<i>" Printing Committee</i>
	<i>" Volunteers Committee</i>

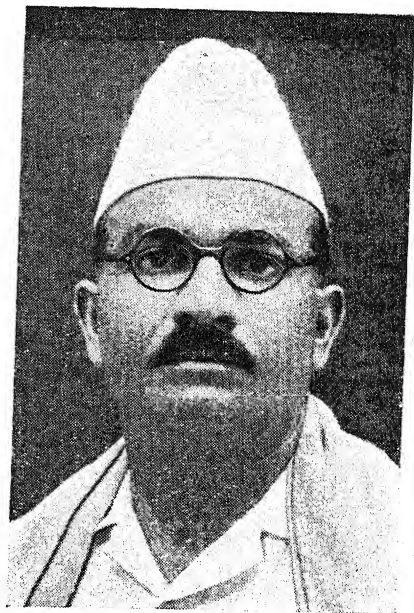




Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani,
Chairman, Reception Committee 45th Session of the
Indian National Congress held at Karachi March 1931.



Syt. R. K. Sidhwa.



Dr. Tarachand J. Lalvani.

General Secretaries Reception Committee 45th Sessions of the
Indian National Congress held at Karachi March 1931.



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45TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Dr. CHOITHRAM P. GIDWANI'S SPEECH

SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,

It is the proudest privilege of my life to welcome you to-day on this momentous occasion in the history of the National Struggle for Freedom. On behalf of the Reception Committee and the people of Sind who have eagerly sought this opportunity ever since the Nagpur session of 1920, I extend to you a most hearty welcome. Eighteen years have passed since Sind was privileged to hold a session of the Congress and in that interval we have lost two of our foremost public men; Seth Harchandrai and Mr. Bhurgri, who were among the pioneers who built the Congress tradition in this province. Seth Harchandrai, who organized the last Karachi Congress, as the chairman of the Reception Committee, we proudly recollect as the first martyr, in the present campaign that started with the national boycott of the Simon Commission, against which he was going to register his vote, inspite of the protest of his medical advisers, when he met his death. As a humble tribute to his memory we have named our hastily improvised camp, Harchandrai Nagar. Mr. Ghulam Mahomed Bhurgri has been our foremost Muslim Congressman who always regarded himself an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards. No one in our province, Hindu or Muslim, had won the confidence of both communities to the extent to which Mr. Bhurgri did. The Souls of Bhurgri and Harchandrai are with us in our welcome of you in our midst.

We are fully conscious of the defects and shortcomings in the arrangements that we have been able to make for your bare necessities. We seek your indulgence in view of the extra-ordinary circumstances in which this session is being held. A little more than a fortnight ago, most of my comrades and co-workers, who have shouldered the heavy task of this organization, were prisoners of war, and the few who happened to be free, could not tell even at the beginning of this month if the Congress session would be held at all. And almost on the eve of the Congress session came the tragic news of the execution of Bhagat Sing and his comrades which has plunged the whole country in sorrow and indignation, and which has led us to abandon even the public entry and procession of the President-elect whom Karachi, in other circumstances, would have loved to give the gayest of welcomes. We have sought rigidly to exclude all gaiety from our decorations in keeping with the seriousness and solemnity of the occasion. We take comfort in the knowledge that we are welcoming comrades-in-arms, nearly all of whom have laid all thought of comfort aside, and who come to us fresh from the rigorous discipline of prison life, added during the last twelve months, to their previous records of service and sacrifice, and who know full well—especially after the indecent hurry with which the executions of Bhagat Singh and his comrades have been carried out against the unanimous public opinion of the country that the sentences may be commuted—that they may be only having a brief respite that this truce affords.

Proud as we are to be your hosts on this historic occasion, great is our sorrow that fate has deprived us

of the inspiring presence in our midst of that Prince among Patriots, the late Pt. Motilal Nehru, whose magnificent sacrifices in the cause of our freedom form one of the most glorious chapters in the history of that struggle which he led with consummate ability and brilliance. His death was hastened by the privations and sufferings of jail life which he cheerfully embraced at his advanced age, inspite of the precarious condition of his health. Pt. Motilal takes his place among the immortals of Indian history, Dadabhoy Naoroji, Gopal Krishan Gokhale, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Chita Ranjan Das and Lajpatrai, whose names will for ever remain a priceless treasure for lovers of liberty. It is with a heavy heart that Sind offers a special welcome on this occasion to Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru who unfurled the flag of Independence at Lahore on the midnight of 31st December 1929 and who has held it aloft ever since, with single minded devotion and reckless courage. Death has deprived us also of another great leader, Moulana Mahomedali, who also died serving the nation with fearless independence in far off London, martyr to his sense of duty. Karachi witnessed the famous trial in 1921 of which Moulana Mahomedali was the central figure and Karachi prison never held a more distinguished or a more determined foe of foreign domination.

Friends, we are meeting at a critical juncture in our history. For twelve months from the March to Dandi to the Delhi Truce we have really lived. In 1920-21 we reached a wonderful height of emotional exaltation and ten years later in 1930-31 that

emotion has been translated by the nation into heroic action. During those ten years of probation, there has been a steady absorption of the teachings of our great souled leader Mahatma Gandhi to whom the world pays homage to-day for having successfully evolved a matchless weapon that provides for righteous warfare, a righteous method. It is nothing short of a New Dispensation in which brute force will no longer be the final arbiter in human affairs and might will not be acceptable as indisputable evidence of Right. Mahatmaji's message is not for India alone. The evolution of that technique of Satyagraha in the course of this struggle is leading the world to claim the message as its own and from far off lands are heard echoes of the great message. What sounded like only a creed ten years ago at Nagpur, has been proved to be a potent practical weapon that claims superiority over steel and demands for its effectiveness, its exclusive use relegating old-world steel to rust. Undreamt of powers of endurance and resistance have been brought out by the exercise of this new instrument that brings a new hope to those that suffer from oppression and inequity anywhere. Indian women, who, the world had been taught to believe, were only domestic chattel or Harem toys, have, established records of heroism for which history will find it difficult to find a parallel, and even children have found a scope in the movement that has acted a corrective to a century of denationalizing education. Peasants and farmers, to whom British Rule has brought only hunger and starvation, have felt the glow of freedom and made sacrifices before which the better advertised woes of liquor dealers and foreign cloth

merchants pale into insignificance. The nation has successfully stood brutal Lathi charges and trampling under horses' hoofs, which are ingeniously described by our alien rulers as the exercise of minimum force, leaving it to stagger imagination to conceive what the maximum of that brutality could achieve. I have no doubt that inspite of any misgivings and distrust that the more impatient among us may feel, the country will continue to follow with an ever increasing steadfastness and courage the path of non-violence chalked out by our illustrious leader. I even venture to hope that those fearless patriots who have counted their lives as naught in the pursuit of a different path—many of whom are unfortunately still in prison cells—will, at no distant date, be our comrades in arms, enforcing the will of a United Nation wielding this invincible weapon that will win Freedom in India and Peace for the world.

It will be a fruitless task to discuss in detail the terms of the truce that enabled us to hold this session of the Congress, not that there is any need of apologizing for them. The critics seem to forget that they are terms for a *truce* and not for a *Peace*. What has been agreed to is a suspension of hostilities and not a termination thereof. The Working Committee was entirely justified in calling truce when they were satisfied that our opponents were in a frame of mind for peaceful negotiation on honourable terms. There is no other way of termination of the struggle at any time, except by a successful negotiation. The only question is whether the ground has been cleared for a reasonable

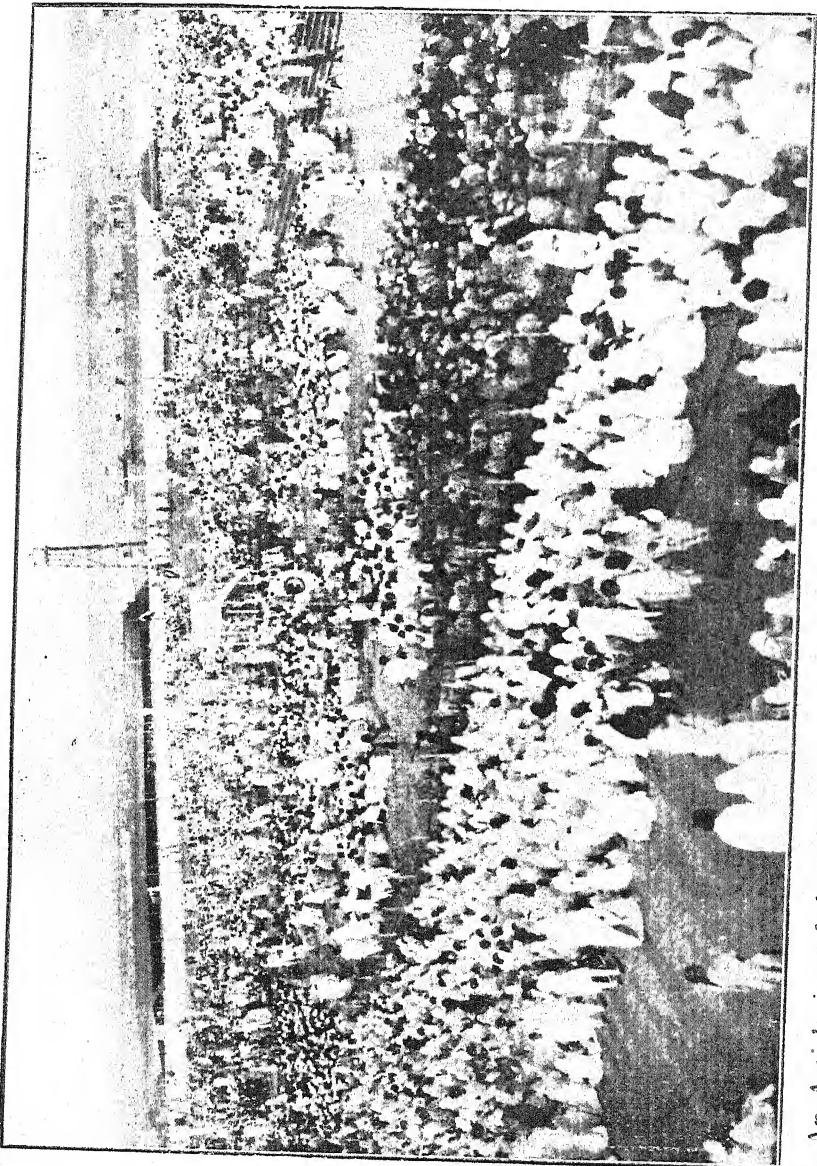
hope of successful negotiation. The history of previous efforts of Lord Reading and Lord Irwin to enter into such negotiations with Mahatma Gandhi should amply illustrate the determination of our illustrious leader not to let the Congress be drawn into a trap. He declined compromise in 1921 when valued co-workers put him down as an unpractical blunderer. He declined compromise on the eve of the Lahore Congress when equally valued colleagues regretted his action. The Yeravada pourparlers are another instance in point. At Delhi, at last, after prolonged conversations, he was convinced and he convinced the Working Committee that a change of heart was visible. He has surrendered nothing. The national resolve stands unaltered. We have met here to re-affirm it. While however, I view with no misgivings Mahatmaji's decision and decision of the Working Committee to agree to a truce, I cannot help thinking that the Lahore execution represents a grave error of judgment on the part of Government. Mahatmaji agreed to forego the inquiry into Police excesses in order that atmosphere may not be vitiated for a peace effort by mutual recrimination. We had a right to expect that spirit of comradeship to be reciprocated. But now Government have made it difficult for us to believe in their desire to part with power. The continued detention of the detenus who have certainly not been convicted of any crimes of violence is also a source of greater discontent than ever. I am willing to place implicit faith in Mahatmaji's leadership but I must say that signs do not appear to be propitious for the conclusion of an honourable peace that would leave us masters in our own home. Britain must acknowledge our inherent right to be masters in our own

home. She must abandon the insolent theory of trusteeship, agreeing to no longer lecture to minor wards but to talk on equal terms to people who are her equals in stature and who claim their rightful equality in status. All reservations and safeguards must be ruled out if they violate that fundamental basis of any honourable negotiation. No curtailment of our inherent and inalienable right to manage our own affairs can be accepted merely to suit Tory prejudices or vested interests of England. Every safeguard must be in India's interest. The Army of Occupation as such must go and our financial administration must be as unfettered as that of Britain. England's management of Indian Finances has not been so honourable that she can claim to retain control over them even in part, in *India's* interests.

It will be your duty, friends, to discuss these terms for peace and issue your instrument of instructions to your plenipotentiaries during this session. The fundamentals of our demand have to be stated in explicit terms. We have to define the basis of the proposed Federation. We can never be content with the dangerous doctrine evolved in London, that Federation with ruling princes rather than the states, practically on their own terms based on no guiding principle, will be the condition of central responsibility. Central responsibility is not a mere detail of the Indian constitution, the inclusion of which can be treated as hypothetical and conditional. It is the essence of our demand. In comparison, federation itself is a mere detail, being only the form while responsibility is the substance of self-government. Federate with the states by all means but there must be real recognition of common ideals and not merely geographical necessity for

federation. The princes in their own interests will do well to take this opportunity of coming into line with modern ideals. There are among them rulers who have shown enough intelligent anticipation to give grounds of hope that they will see that their best interests lie in their immediate conversion into constitutional, potentates deriving their authority from the will of the people. It is only with such States that an India entering into a new era of Freedom can federate to any advantage.

I will not encroach on your time any further. I have only to add that all our dreams of immediate Freedom will be idle fancies if we do not present a united front in the ensuing negotiations. Our domestic issues must be finally disposed of to prevent a repetition of the sorry spectacle of the first Round Table Conference in London. Communal adjustments will admit of no further delay and we must not go to Chequer or Whitehall for the solution. The case for all parties has been stated ably, unequivocally and authoritatively by properly accredited representatives. Repeated restatement and revision of demands will not take us any nearer the goal. We will be only going round and round the whole problem without ever finding a solution. Satisfaction with *status quo* is ruled out by every community that claims to be patriotic. How then, 'shall we proceed? Arbitration may ultimately prove to be the best way. Can we not find one man or more men, good and true, in whom Hindus and Moslems, Sikhs and Christians, Parsis and Jews and all other sections of the people, who claim this country for their motherland, can place implicit



An Aerial view of the vast assembly in the Congress Pandal. In the centre can be seen the rostrum and on the right the flag.

trust for maturity of judgement and impartial outlook, state our different cases before them and agree to abide their award?

Friends, I would once again request you to overlook the numerous deficiencies in the arrangements, we have been able to make for your brief stay. We have had to run a race against time and complete in one month a task never before performed and our modest success is due in no small measure to the co-operation of the Karachi Municipality under its patriotic President, Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, to whom I take this opportunity of expressing my heartfelt gratitude. The merchants of Karachi have also laid us under a debt of gratitude by their wholehearted co-operation. Volunteers, many of them fresh from prisons, have spent sleepless nights working under tremendous pressure and they will do their best to make your brief stay comfortable. I hope that some of you will find it possible to stay with us after the session is over to see something of our province while you are here. Karachi has no ancient associations but as a modern city administered on progressive lines, and a geographical position that entitles it to be the Gateway of India by sea and the air, it is amongst the most important cities in the country and the first city of the future. Its harbour and its Clifton sands stretching over miles, and its hot water springs at Magar Pir will provide enjoyable outings. Tatta in the district is one of India's most ancient towns that witnessed Alexander's invasion and there are ruins of more ancient towns that will appeal to the antiquarian. The

Mohan-jo-daro which takes us many a century beyond what used to be known as the dawn of Indian history is only a night's journey from here. The picturesque town of Sukkur with the beautiful island temple of Sadha Bela lies the same way. A visit to the place is called for also by the Sukkur Barrage, round which centre the problems of modern Sind. Four hours from here stands Hyderabad, the old capital of the Mirs of Sind, and the modern centre of Sindhi culture. I extend to you a cordial invitation to stay with us and see more of the life of this province where twelve centuries of contact have created adjustments and understanding between Hindus and Moslems that amount almost to a new culture which, I feel confident, will endure and grow, inspite of the ugly reactions of recent times.

45TH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

FRIENDS,

Let me commence my brief address with respectful condolences to Shrimati Sarup Rani Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal, and the other members of the family on the loss they have sustained in Pandit Motilalji's death. I know that their sorrow has been greatly relieved by the knowledge that it is shared by a whole nation. Motilalji's help at this juncture was a necessity which we all and above all Gandhiji felt whilst the delicate negotiations in Delhi were going on. This loss came upon the nation when the tears had hardly dried over the death of Mahomed Ali. Though unfortunately the late Maulana had differences with us, his services to the country as a great patriot and brave man who never concealed what he believed, could never be forgotten. I tender my respectful condolences to the Begum Saheba, Maulana Shaukat Ali and the whole family. And in this connection I would couple those nameless heroes who unknown to fame, and never for it, laid down their lives in the non-violent struggle during the past twelve months. May their souls rest in peace and may their lives chasten us and spur us to greater sacrifice and greater effort for the cause for which they died.

The execution of young Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru has filled the country with deep resentment. I cannot identify myself with their methods. I have no doubt that political murder is no less reprehensible than any other; but the patriotism, the daring and the sacrifice of Bhagat Singh and his comrades command my admiration. The heartless and foreign nature of the government was never more strikingly demonstrated than in their carrying out the executions in the teeth of the all but universal demand for the commutation of the death sentence. Let us not however be deterred from our purpose in a fit of resentment. This insolent exhibition of their armed power but adds to the heavy indictment against the soulless system and increases our capacity for vindicating our position if we would refuse to be deflected from the strait and narrow path we have chosen. May the souls of the brave patriots rest in peace and may their families find comfort in the fact that the nation is a sharer in their mourning.

You have called a simple farmer to the highest office to which any Indian can aspire. I am conscious that your choice of me as first servant is not so much for what little I might have done, but it is the recognition of the amazing sacrifice made by Gujarat. Out of your generosity you have singled out Gujarat for the honour. But in truth every province did its utmost during the year of the greatest national awakening that we have known in modern times. And thanks be to God that the awakening was a call to self-purification.

Though there have been aberrations, it is a fact

beyond challenge that India has given a singular proof to the world that mass non-violence is no longer the idle dream of a visionary or a mere human longing. It is a solid fact capable of infinite possibilities for a humanity which is groaning, for want of faith, beneath the weight of violence of which it has almost made a fetish. The greatest proof that our movement was non-violent lies in the fact that the peasants falsified the fears of our worst sceptics. They were described as very difficult to organise for non-violent action and it is they who stood the test with a bravery and an endurance that was beyond all expectation. Women and children too contributed their great share in the fight. They responded to the call by instinct and played a part which we are too near the event adequately to measure. And I think it would not be at all wrong to give them the bulk of the credit for preservation of non-violence and consequent success of the movement. Looked at in the light of non-violence our struggle is a world struggle and it is a matter of great satisfaction that the nations of the earth, especially the United States of America have heartened us by their sympathy.

The recent settlement however renders it unnecessary to dwell at greater length upon this heroic period in the national life. Your Working Committee has entered into the Settlement in anticipation of your approval. You are now invited formally to endorse it. The Committee having accepted it as your accredited representatives, it is not, I take it, open to you to repudiate it; but it is open to you to pass a vote of no-confidence in the present executive and appoint

better agents. But whilst it is but meet that I should draw your attention to the constitutional position, I have no doubt whatsoever that you will endorse the settlement which I hold to be perfectly honourable for both the parties. Had we not accepted the settlement we should have put ourselves in the wrong and thereby undone the effect of the suffering of the past year. Indeed we had always claimed, as Satyagrahis must claim, to be ready and eager for peace. When therefore the way seemed to be open for peace, we took it. In view of the clear demand on the part of the British Indian Delegation at the Round Table Conference for full responsibility, and in view of the British parties having accepted the position and in view of the appeal made to the Congress by the Premier, the Viceroy and many of our distinguished countrymen, the Working Committee thought that if an honourable truce could be arranged and if it was open to the Congress to press without any reservation for what it considered to be the best for the country, the Congress should, if invited, take part in the Conference and attempt to reach an agreed solution of the constitutional issue. If we failed in the attempt and there was no way open but that of suffering, then it was a privilege of which no power on earth could deprive us. Under the constitution clause of the Settlement it is open to us to press for Purna Swaraj, to ask for complete control over our defence forces, foreign affairs, finance, fiscal policy and the like. There would be safeguards or reservations, or as the late Pandit Motilal called them, adjustments, conceived in our own interest. When power passes from one to the other by agreement there are always safeguards in

the interest of the party in need of reparation or help. The continued exploitation of India for close on two centuries renders it necessary for us to seek assistance in several respects from external sources. This we would gladly take from Britain, if she is willing to give. Thus we would need military skill and there is no reason why we may not receive English assistance in this direction. I have taken only one telling illustration out of others that may be suggested. The defence safeguard may therefore be the retention of British officers, or, as some would say, even privates; but we could never let our defence be controlled by the British. We must have the full power to make mistakes. We may gratefully receive British advice; never dictation. The fact is that the British army in India is an army of occupation. Defence is a misnomer. Frankly, the army is for defending British interests and British men and women against any internal uprising. I cannot recall a single instance in which the Indian army was required for the protection of India to fight a foreign power. True, there have been expeditions on the Frontier, wars with Afghanistan. British historians have taught us that there were wars more of aggression rather than of defence. We must not therefore be frightened by the bogey of foreign designs upon India. In my opinion if we need an army, we certainly do not need the octopus we are daily bleeding to support. If the Congress has its way, the army will suffer immediate reduction to its desirable proportion.

Nor can we divide financial control with the British Government. The nation cannot grow to its full height

if it has not exclusive control over its finance.

Again we have been taught to think that our civil administration will be inefficient and corrupt if we give the able assistance of highly paid British civilians. The administrative powers that the Congress has exhibited during recent years and the fact of its having on an ever-increasing scale drawn to its assistance some of the best young men and women either without pay or on a mere pittance should sufficiently dispose of the fear of corruption or inefficiency. It would be too great a strain upon our poor purse to have to pay by way of insurance against corruption a premium out of all proportion to the highest possible estimate of corruption that may ever take place. It will therefore be necessary, if India is to come to her own to demand a heavy reduction in the Civil Service expenditure and thus a consequent reduction in the emoluments of the Civil Service.

We have claimed that many of the charges laid upon India are wholly unjust. We have never suggested repudiation of a single obligation, but we have asked and must continue to ask, for an impartial investigation into the debits against us wherever we cannot agree.

There is no receding from the Lahore resolution of Complete Independence. This independence does not mean, was not intended to mean, a churlish refusal to associate with Britain or any other power. Independence therefore does not include the possibility of equal partnership for mutual benefit and dissolvable at the

SARDAR VALABHBHAI PATEL.



President, 45th Session of the Indian
National Congress held at Karachi.



will of either party. If India is to reach her independence through consultation and agreement, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be British association. I am aware that there is a strong body of opinion in the country to the effect that before a partnership could possibly be conceived, there must be a period of complete dissociation. I do not belong to that school. It is, as I think, a sign of weakness and of disbelief in human nature.

Federation is a fascinating idea. But it introduces new embarrassments. Princes will not listen to severance. But if they will come in the true spirit it will be a great gain. Their association must not be to impede the progress of democracy. I hope therefore, that they will not take up an uncompromising attitude that may be wholly inconsistent with the spirit of freedom. I wish they would without any pressure give us an earnest of their desire to march abreast of the time-spirit. Surely the fundamental rights of their subjects should be guaranteed as of the rest of the inhabitants of India. All the inhabitants of Federal India should enjoy some common elementary rights, there must be a common court to give relief from any encroachment upon them. Nor can it be too much to expect that the subjects of the states should be to an extent directly represented on the federal legislature.

As regards Burma, press censorship has rendered it impossible for us to know the true situation there. Whether Burma should be separate from India or should be part of a Free India is for the Burmese alone to decide. But it is our concern, indeed it is the

world's concern, to see that all sides are heard. It is well-known that there is a unionist party in Burma. It is as much entitled to freedom of opinion as the separatists. If therefore the information given to the Congress that unionist opinion is strangled, be true, the injustice must be resisted. The proposition that there should be a referendum of Burmese opinion seems to be eminently reasonable.

But before all else comes the question of Hindu-Muslim or rather communal unity. The position of the Congress was defined at Lahore. Let me recite the resolution here:

"In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding, communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India, communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular and Muslims and other minorities in general had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of the communal question proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution, can be acceptable to the Congress, that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned."

Therefore the Congress can be no party to any constitution which does not contain a solution of the communal question that is not designed to satisfy the respective parties. As a Hindu I would adopt my predecessor's formula and present the minorities with a swadeshi fountain pen and paper and let them write

out their demands. And I should endorse them. I know that it is the quickest method. But it requires courage on the part of the Hindus. What we want is a heart unity, not patched up paper-unity that will break under the slightest strain. That unity can only come when the majority takes courage in both the hands and is prepared to change places with the minority. This would be the highest wisdom. Whether the unity is reached that way or any other, it is becoming plainer day after day that it is useless to attend any conference unless that unity is achieved. The Conference can give us an agreement between the British and us, it can perhaps help us to come nearer to the Princes; but it can never enable us to achieve unity. That must be hammered into shape by ourselves. The Congress must leave no stone unturned to realise this much-desired end.

It must be clear to all of us that the Congress can be useful for attaining Purna Swaraj only to the extent that it has gained power. The past twelve months have undoubtedly given it a power which he, who runs, may see. But it is not enough and can be easily frittered away by hasty action or by pride. He is a spendthrift who lives on his capital. We must therefore add to our power. One way to do so is on our part to fulfil to the letter the conditions of the Settlement. The other is to consolidate our gains. I therefore propose to devote a few lines to this part of our activity.

We have made much headway in the matter of

the boycott of foreign cloth. It is a right as well as a duty. Without it, the impoverished millions of India must continue to starve. For if cheap foreign cloth continues to be dumped down in the villages of India, the Charkha cannot flourish. Foreign cloth must therefore be banished from the land. It is dear even if it could be obtained free. The millions who starve, do so not because there is not enough in the land, but because they have no work during the off season. It is therefore want of easy employment in their own villages that leads to starvation. Incessant propaganda is necessary to rid the country of chronic unemployment which has become second nature with our peasantry. The best Propaganda is to do sacrificial spinning ourselves and wear Khadi. The All-India Spinners' Association has done much valuable work. But it is for the Congress to create the spinning and the Khaddar atmosphere. This to my mind is the best and the most effective propaganda of Boycott.

It has been suggested that the argument against foreign cloth applies to indigenous mill cloth. This is true to an extent. But our mills do not produce all the cloth we need. For years to come they may continue to supply the balance that may be required over and above hand-spun cloth. But even our mills may prove a hindrance, if they compete with Khaddar or resort to questionable devices to push their wares. Fortunately many mills are patriotically working in co-operation with the Congress and are beginning to appreciate the virtue of Khaddar in the interest of

the toiling millions. But I can certainly say that if our mills unpatriotically hurt Khaddar instead of complimenting it, they must face an opposition somewhat similar to that against foreign cloth.

The foreign cloth merchants will do well to bear the Congress attitude in mind in this regard. Foreign cloth boycott is a permanent thing "not conceived as a political weapon but as an economic and social measure of permanent value for the welfare of the masses. These merchants, therefore, if they will look into the future and think of their country, will do well to give up their foreign cloth trade. Everything possible is being done to help them but some very big sacrifice," on their part is essential.

English, Japanese and other foreign merchants will, I hope, not misunderstand the Congress attitude. If they will help India they will deny themselves the Indian trade in foreign cloth. They have other markets and other enterprises.

This brings me to picketing. This has not been and cannot be given up. I give below the relevant clause of the Settlement:

"Picketing shall be unaggressive and it shall not involve coercion, intimidation, restraint, hostile demonstration, obstruction to the public, or any offence under the ordinary law; and if and when any of these methods is employed in any place, the practice of picketing in that place will be suspended."

Picketing is a common law right. But you will observe that within the limits prescribed it is not only inoffensive but highly educative. Its function is gentle persuasion, never coercion or violent restraint on liberty. I use the adjective 'violent' advisedly. The restraining force of public opinion there always will be. It is healthy, elevating and conducive to the growth of liberty as distinguished from licence. Non-violent picketing is designed to create public opinion, an atmosphere which should become irresistible. This can best be carried on by women. I hope therefore that they will continue the marvellous work begun by them and earn the eternal gratitude of the nation and, what is more, the blessings of the starving millions.

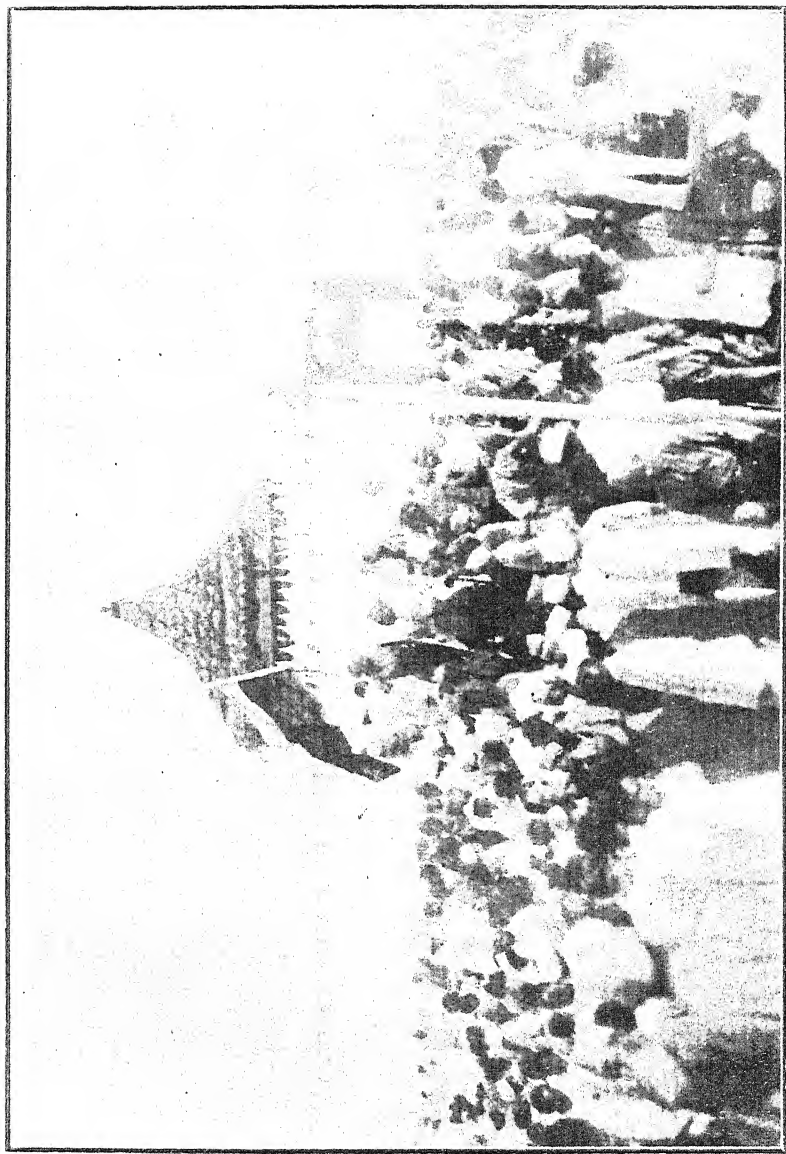
In this connection let me say a few words regarding boycott of British goods. This idea is almost as old as the Congress. We know that after the advent of Gandhiji on the political platform, boycott of British goods was replaced by that of foreign--not only British-cloth. He interpreted it in terms of economics and social uplift, whereas the boycott of the British goods as such is a political and punitive measure. This was effectively employed during the recent hurricane campaign. Now that there is at least temporary peace, and we seek to reach our goal through consultation and conference, we must withdraw the political weapon. We cannot be sitting at the friendly conference table and outside making designs to hurt British interests. Whilst therefore, we must for the time-being withdraw British goods' boycott, we must intensify Swadeshi which is the birth-right of every nation. Whatever we produce in our

country we must encourage to the exclusion of foreign whether British or other. This is the condition of national growth. Thus we must encourage and carry on intensive propaganda on behalf of indigenous insurance companies, banking, shipping and the like. We may not belittle or neglect them on the ground of their inferiority or dearness. Only by wide use and helpful criticism may we make them cheaper and better.

There is much loose talk about equality of treatment. What is equality of treatment between the strong and the weak, between giant and dwarf, between elephant and ant! If Lord Inchcape with his fabulous wealth and resources claimed equal rights with Seth Narotam Morarji of lamented memory, it would be a travesty of equality. It will be time enough to talk of equality of treatment after Narotamdas's successors have made some little approach to Lord Inchcape's resources. Equality of treatment in the case of hopeless unequals ought to mean raising the less favoured upto the level of the most favoured. Thus equality of treatment for suppressed classes on the part of the so-called superior classes means raising the former to the latter's level; the latter sacrificing their substance and stooping to conquer. In relation to the British we have hitherto occupied a position in some respects lower even than the suppressed classes. Protection of Indian industries and enterprise to the exclusion of British or foreign, is a condition of our national existence even under a state of partnership. Protection within even the British Commonwealth is no new-fangled notion. It is in vogue in the Dominions to the extent necessary for their growth.

Just as boycott of foreign cloth is an economic necessity for the sake of the starving millions, boycott of intoxicating drink and drugs is a necessity for the moral welfare of the nation. The idea of total Prohibition was born before its political effect was thought of. The Congress conceived it as a measure of self-purification. Even if the Government earmarked the revenue from this traffic for purely Prohibition purposes, our picketing of these shops would continue, no doubt subject to the same severe restrictions as in the case of foreign cloth. I invite the Government during the transition stage to anticipate the verdict of the national legislature and merely tolerate picketings of the two things, foreign cloth and drugs, but make, if they will, common cause with the nation. But whether they will or no, we cannot rest still so long as there is a yard of foreign cloth entering the country or a single liquor-shop corrupting our misguided countrymen.

One word regarding salt. The salt raid must stop. Defiance of salt laws for the sake of civil disobedience must stop. But the poor, living in the neighbourhood of salt areas, are free to make and sell salt within that neighbourhood. The Salt Tax is not gone, it is true. In view of the likelihood of the Congress participating in the Conference we may not press for the immediate repeal of the tax which is bound to come very soon. But the poorest on whose behalf the [campaign was undertaken, are now virtually free from the tax. I hope that no traders will seek to take an undue advantage of the relaxation.



The arrival of Sirdar Valabhbhai Patel, President of the Karachi Congress

The foregoing perhaps shows you how uninterested I am in many things that interest the intelligentsia. I am not interested in loaves and fishes, or legislative honours. The peasantry do not understand them, they are little affected by them. I believe that Gandhiji's eleven points mean the substance of Swaraj. That which does not satisfy them is no Swaraj. Whilst I would respect the rights of landlords, rajas, maharajas and others to the extent, that they do not hurt the sweating millions, my interest lies in helping the downtrodden to rise from their state and be on a level with the tallest in the land. Thank God the gospel of Truth and Non-Violence has given these an inkling of their dignity and the power they possess. Much still remains to be done. But let us make up our minds that we exist for them, not they for us. Let us shed our petty rivalries and jealousies, feuds, and let everyone realise that the Congress represents and exists for the toiling millions and it will become an irresistible power working not for greed or power but for the sake of common humanity.

There is one part of the constructive programme which I have not dealt with already; that is the all important work of removing untouchability. It is no use tinkering with the problem. The recent heroic struggle on the part of the nation would have been more glorious if Hindus had purged Hinduism of this evil. But heroism or glory apart, no Swaraj would be worth having without this supreme act of self-purification, and even if Swaraj is won whilst this stain continues to blacken Hinduism, it would be as insecure as a Swaraj without a complete boycott of foreign cloth.

In conclusion I may not forget our brethren overseas. Their lot in South Africa, in East Africa and in the other parts of the world is still hanging in the balance. Deenabandhu Andrews is happily in South Africa helping our countrymen. Pandit Hridaya Nath Funzru has specialised in the Indian question in East Africa. The only consolation the Congress can give, is to assure them of its sympathy. They know that their lot must automatically improve to the extent that we approach our goal. In your name I would appeal to the Governments concerned to treat with consideration the members of a nation which is bound at a very early date to enter upon her heritage and which means ill to no nation on earth. We ask them to extend to our nationals the same treatment they would have us, when we are free, to extend to theirs. This is surely not asking too much.

I invite you to conduct your proceedings, over which you have asked me to preside, in a manner befitting the grave occasion at which we have met. Differences of opinion are bound to exist; but I trust that every one here will co-operate to make our deliberations dignified and conducive to the attainment of our goal.

BANDE MATARAM.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

1st day of the 45th. Sessions.

It was the 29th. of March at last. After 3 weeks of hectic feeling and feverish activity and of admirable Co-operation and team-work, the day, glorious Sunday, had arrived on which was to commence the open sessions of the memorable Congress to which 350 million souls in the country and their friends as well as their foes all over the world had, looked forward eagerly, perhaps anxiously. Long before the appointed hour, delegates, visitors and Reception Committee members, in their white spotless khadi, began to pour into the stadium in their thousands through their respective gates, till by 6-0 P. M., the stadium looked like a foam-peaked sea of human faces, swelling and heaving endlessly.

At 6-0 P. M., punctually to a minute, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the Hero of Bardoli and President-elect of the Congress, was ushered into the stadium and conducted to the dais, accompanied by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and other distinguished leaders, with two big national tri-colours carried by two captains of volunteers heading the procession, and a bag-pipe band, brought by Khan Abdul Ghafar Khan playing all along the route, bringing up the rear. A number of cameras clicked as

the party reached the dais and were about to take their seats.

The proceedings commenced with the singing, all standing, of the Indian National Anthem, followed by a sweet welcome-song by some lady volunteers and another by a number of male volunteers.

At 6-45 P. M. Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address in Hindi (an English rendering of speech is here-with attached-in the beginning) from the rostrum, finishing at 7-15 p. m. He then proceeded to invest Sardar Vallabhbhai with the badge and insignia of the President who was subsequently garlanded by him as well as by Mr. R. K. Sidhwa, one of the General Secretaries of the Reception Committee.

President's Address.

Sardar Vallabhbhai, then mounting the rostrum commenced at 7-20 p. m. his presidential address in Hindi and finished it at 8-0 P. M. The speech was remarkable for its lucidity, vigour and directness, and outlined in brief the main problems that the Sessions had to consider. (An English rendering of the address is attached in the beginning).

Messages from far and wide.

Babu Sriprakash then read the various messages of

goodwill and sympathy received by the Congress from some distinguished persons and associations in the country and abroad regretting their inability to attend the Sessions, but all wishing the Congress every success in its deliberations and speedy attainment of its goal. Never before had the Congress received messages and expressions of such sincere appreciation and gratification from so wide a range of sympathisers and friends all over the world. (A brief resume of the messages is attached : vide Appendix A.)

Condolence Resolution.

2. Sardar Vallabhai Patel moved the following Condolence resolution from the Chair which was passed Unanimously, all standing:—

“This Congress places on record its deep sorrow on the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mahomedali, Moulvi Mazharul Haq, Shri Rewa Shankar Javeri and the unknown heroes and heroines who died during the recent struggle, and tenders respectful condolence to the families of the deceased and assures them that the whole nation shares their grief.”

Release of Political Prisoners.

3. The 3rd resolution relating to the release of Political prisoners was also moved from the Chair and passed *nem con*. It read as under :—

“This Congress is emphatically of opinion that if the object of the settlement between the Government and the Congress is the promotion of goodwill between Great Britain and India and if the settlement is an earnest of Great Britain’s determination to part with power, the Government should release all political prisoners and detenus though not covered by the settlement and remove all political disabilities imposed by the Government on Indians on account of their political opinions or acts.

This Congress reminds the Government that if they will respond to this resolution they will somewhat allay the “strong” public resentment that has been roused by the recent executions.”

Communal Riots in Cawnpore.

4. The fourth resolution, also moved from the Chair, was passed Unanimously, all standing. It ran as under:—

“This Congress deplores the communal strife that is going on in Cawnpore and that has resulted in a large number of deaths and even a larger number injured. The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the families of the deceased and the injured. The Congress notes with deep grief the news of the death during the strife of Sjt. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, President. U. P. P. C. C. who was one of the most selfless among national workers and who, by his freedom from communal bias had endeared himself to all parties and communities. Whilst tendering condolence to the family of the deceased the Congress notes with pride that a prominent worker of the first rank was found sacrificing his precious life in the attempt to rescue those in danger and restore peace and sanity in the midst of strife and insanity. The Congress asks all concerned to utilize this noble sacrifice for promoting peace and never for vengeance and to that end appoints a committee to discover the causes of the tension and to take such measures as may be necessary to heal the breach and to prevent the poison from spreading to the adjoining areas and districts.

Committee.

Syt. Purshottamdas Tandon.

Khwaja Abdul Majid,

Syt. T. A. K. Sherwani,

Syt. Zafurul Mulk,
 Pundit Sunderlal,
 With Dr. Bhagwandas as Chairman."

Execution of Bhagatsingh

5. The following Resolution No. 2 regarding the Execution, of Bhagatsingh and his comrades, was then taken up. This was moved by Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru who was loudly cheered and who spoke on it in Hindi.

"This Congress while dissociating itself from and disapproving of political violence in any shape or form, places on record its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of the late Sardar Bhatat Singh and his comrades Syts. Sukhdev and Rajguru and mourns with the bereaved families the loss of these lives. This Congress is of opinion that this triple execution is an act of wanton vengeance and is a deliberate flouting of the unanimous demand of the nation for commutation. This Congress is further of opinion that Government have lost the golden opportunity of promoting goodwill between the two nations, admittedly held to be essential at this juncture, and of winning over to the method of peace the party which being driven to despair resorts to political violence."

Pandit Jhavarlal's speech in Hindi.

जनाबे सदर भाइयो और बहनों !

(ज्योंही पंडित जी मंच पर आये चारों ओर से नारे जय के बुलंद हो रहे थे) आप लोग सब मेहरबानी करके खामोश हो जाइये, आप इन नारों को भी बंद कीजिये अगर आप चाहते हैं कि आप खुद सुन सकें तो आप खामोशी अख्त्यार करें तभी आप कुछ सुन सकते हैं ।

अब मैं आपके सामने यह प्रस्ताव पेश करता हूँ आप सब जानते हैं यह रेजूलेशन रंज का रेजूलेशन है मैं आप लोगों को इसे पढ़ कर सुना देता हूँ । तत्पश्चात् आपने उपरोक्त प्रस्ताव को प्रथम अङ्गरेजी में पुनः हिन्दी में पढ़ कर सुना दिया । आपने कहा:—

मुनासिब तो यह था कि यह प्रस्ताव कोई और साहब पेश करते, मैं इस रेजूलेशन को पेश करने के लिये मौजूं नहीं हूँ यह मुनासिब था कि जिनके हाथ में इस वक़्त कांग्रेस की बागडोर है जो इस वक़्त कांग्रेस के सचचे मायने में प्रतिनिधि हैं और मैं आपको यह भी बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि जिन्होंने यह रेजूलेशन लिखा है वही इसे पेश करते तो सबसे मुनासिब था इसको रखने के लिये उन्हें ही आना चाहिये था जो आज संसार में अहिंसा के सबसे बड़े पुजारी हैं जिन्होंने संसार को अहिंसा व्रत का एक नया नमूना दिखाया है वही आपके सामने आकर इस रेजूलेशन के ज़रिये उस बहादुर लड़के की तारीफ़ करते जो तारीफ़ के काबिल है वह

ऐसा ज़रूर करते उन्हीं के हाथों से यह जिखा गया है लेकिन कुछ ऐसा हो रहा है कि कांग्रेस का सारा काम उन्हीं के ऊपर पड़ रहा है, रात दिन उन्हें कांग्रेसके काम में मशगूल रहना पड़ता है, कांग्रेस का काम उन पर इतना पड़ गया है कि उन्हें होश भी नहीं मिलता, इन सब वजुहातों को देखते हुये यह मुनासिब समझा गया था कि हर दफ्ता उन्हें ही तकलीफ नहीं देनी चाहिये वह कांग्रेस के काम में मशगूल रहने के सबब से यहां आभी नहीं सकते इस वजह से यह रेजु-लेशन मुझे दिया गया था कि इसे पेश करें, मैं इसे पेश करता हूं जब से लाहोर से यह खबर आई है हम सब लोगों की एक अजीब हालत होगई है, जहां सब के सब यह उम्मेद किये थे कि मुल्क की आवाज़ पर गवर्नमेंट ज़रूर खयाल करेगी, वहां नतीजा दूसरा ही निकला, मेरे दिमाग में एक अजीब हसरत हो गई है, मेरे दिमाग में परेशानी कायम रहती है । समझ में नहीं आता ऐसा हम अब क्या करें यहां हम इकट्ठे हुये हैं हमारे सब के अन्दर एक अजीब परेशानी है एक सदमा खतम नहीं हुआ अभी कानपुर से एक खतरनाक खबर और आई है, आप सब अखबारों में पढ़ चुके होंगे कि कानपुर में हिन्दु मुस्लिम दंगा हो रहा है, सैकड़ों आदमियों की जानें जा रही हैं, क्या हम बिल्कुल पागल हो रहे हैं, समझ में नहीं आता कि हम क्या सोच रहे हैं, क्या इन्हीं भगड़ों से हम स्वराज्य लेंगे, कानपुर में सैकड़ों बेकसूर आदमी मारे जा रहे हैं, गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी की खबर हमें मिले रही है, उनकी लाश का पता भी नहीं है, उनकी शक्ल मेरे सामने रहती है, हर वक्त आंखों के सामने गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी की शक्ल घूमती रहती है ।

इतना ही नहीं, इस पिछली लड़ाई में हमारे कितने आदमी काम आये, जगह २ गोलियां चलीं, लाठियां बरसीं, डंडे पड़े,

पेशावर में गोलियां चली सैकड़ों आदमी मरे शोलापुर में मार्शल ला हुआ गोलियां चली आदमी मारे गये इतना ही नहीं और दर्शों जगह गोलियां चलीं गवर्नमेंट ने कोई कमी नहीं रखी भगतसिंह की फांसी से मुल्क में एक अजीब लहर फैल गई आज क्या बजह है कि भगतसिंह का नाम सबके मुंह में चढ़ा हुआ है, भगतसिंह का नाम क्या कीमत हमारे लिये रखता है आज भगतसिंह सबका प्यारा हो रहा है, गांव गांव का बच्चा इसका नाम जानता है आज घर घर में इसके नाम की चर्चा है इसकी कोई बजह ज़रूर है, भगतसिंह क्या था ! वह एक नौजवान लड़का था उसके अन्दर मुल्क के लिये आग भरी थी वह एक शोला था चन्द महीनों अन्दर वह एक आग की चिनगारी बन गया मुल्क में एक केने से दुसरे केने तक आग फैल गई । मुल्क में अन्धेरी थी चारों तरफ अन्धेरा ही अन्धेरा नज़र आता था वहाँ अन्धेरी रात में एक रोशनी दिखाई देने लगी, हमारा यानी कांग्रेस का प्रोग्राम साफ़ है हम कहते हैं कि शान्ति से हम काम करेंगे, हम शान्ति कायम रखने की हरएक कोशिश करते हैं, हम चाहें कितनी ही कोशिशें क्यों न करें हमारे रास्ते में अड़चने लगाई जा रही हैं क्या भगतसिंह की फांसी से मुल्क में अशान्ति नहीं फैलेगी हमने शान्ति के तरीकों छोड़ कर दूसरे तरीकों की हमेशा बुराई की है आज भी हम वही कार्यवाही करेंगे आज हम फिर शान्ति के सामने सिर झुकाते हैं आज इस रेजूलेशन में हमने क्या लिखा है कि हम भगतसिंह इत्यादि के तरीकों से अलहदा है लेकिन हम उनकी बहादुरी के सामने सिर झुकाते हैं

हम अज़हद बहादुरी के सामने सिर झुकाना जानते हैं हम जानते हैं कि भगतसिंह के मुकद्दमें में कानूनी ज्यादाती हुई उनको मामूली अदालत से ही Try कराना चाहिये था मुल्क ने इस बात के रेजूलेशन पास किये कि स्पेशल अदालत न खड़ी की जाय, लेकिन नहीं, एक सुनाई नहीं हुई, मुकद्दमा ठीक २ नहीं हुआ वायसराय का ओर्डिनेंस निकला कि स्पेशल अदालत इस मुकद्दमें को सुनेगी, मामूली अदालत से उनके मुकद्दमें की सुनाई नहीं होने दी । क्या यही कानून के अन्दर फैसला कहजाता है ।

मेरी समझ में तो नहीं आता यह कैसा फैसला हो सकता है । भगतसिंह एक खास राह पर चलने वाला था उसका अपना प्रोग्राम अल्लहदा था मुल्क के लिये बहुत से लोगों ने कुर्बानियां की हैं और कर रहे हैं फिर भगतसिंह का नाम आज इतना क्यों सबकी जवान पर है इसका सबब है साफ़ बात तो यह है कि वह मैदान में साफ़ लड़ने वाला था जिस दिलेरी के साथ भगतसिंह मैदान में आया वह सब जानते हैं ।

साफ़ बात तो यह है कि वह दुश्मन के सामने खुले मैदान आया उसकी बहादुरी इसलिये और भी ज्यादा बढ़ जाती है आज हम देखते हैं कि भगतसिंह की तस्वीर घर घर लगी है, लोग उनकी तस्वीर पोशाक में पहिनते हैं बटनों में उनकी तस्वीरें लगी हैं ।

मतलब यह है कि आज भगत सिंह की सब जगह में पूजा हो रही है बच्चा २ उसका नाम पुकारते हैं यह रेजुलेण्ड यही कहता है कि उसके बहादुराना कामों की तारीफ करें जो जरूर यह हमारे लिये गौर तलब बात है कि वह किस राहपर चलता था क्या वह रास्ता हमारे लिये ठीक था या नहीं हम इस प्रस्ताव में यही कहते हैं उसकी बहादुरी बड़ी भारी थी जिसकी हम दिलसे तारीफ करते हैं लेकिन जिस रास्ते को यह लोग ठीक समझते थे कॉंग्रेस उस रास्ते को ठीक नहीं समझती हम यह बतलाना चाहते हैं कि हम यहां तमाशे के लिये पकड़ा नहीं हुए हैं हमने लाखों रुपये खर्च करके यहां तक आना तय किया किसलिये कुछ काम करने के लिये। हम आज यहां यह तय कर रहे हैं कि हमारा क्या प्रोग्राम है और रहेगा आज हम तय करें कि हमें देश किधर लेजाना है जब हम दूर दराज से इकट्ठे हुए हैं तो कुछ करने के लिये इस में यही लिखा है कि हम भगतसिंह और उस सहायियों की बहादुरी की तारीफ करते हैं लेकिन हम उनके तरीके अमल से अलहदा रहते हैं हम तो साफ २ कहते जाते हैं कि गोलाबारी से हम अपने मुल्क को आजाद नहीं करा सकते इसके हक में भी बोलने वाले जायेंगे और शायद कोई तर-मीम भी पेश हो यह सब होगा लेकिन आप गौर कर लें कि आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं आप अपने रास्तेको समझले। जहां तक यह सवाल है कि भगतसिंह के लिये कॉंग्रेसने क्या किया और हम भगतसिंह की कितनी इज्जत करते हैं तो आपको मालूम ही होगा कि अजहद कोशिश की गई कि यह लोग इस सजासे माफ कर दिया जाय चाहे जन्म कैद रखी जाय लेकिन कोई सुनवाई नहीं हुई मेरे दिलमें भगत-

सिंह के लिये जो इज्जत है वह आपसे किसी से कम नहीं है। भगतसिंह का रास्ता दूसरा ही था। हमें गान्धीजीने एक नई राह दिखलाई उससे हमें फायदा हुआ था नहीं यह आप खुद समझ सकते हैं पिछले एक साल की लड़ाई ने हमें बतला दिया कि हम गान्धीजी की राहपर चलने से कितने आगे बढे। इन पिछले बारह महीनों में हमने मुल्क की कितनी तरक्की की एक कोनेसे दुसरे कोने तक लड़ाई छिड़ी थी सब लोक लड़ाई में मशगूल थे। और तब, बच्चे खुशियों जेलोंके अन्दर दाखिल हुए यही क्यों हुआ बस हमारे लिये एक ही राह है और वह राह है जो महात्मा गान्धीने हमें दिखलाई है यानी अहिंसा की राह। मेरी आदत कोई छिपाने की नहीं है मैं तो साफ़ कहता हूँ कि गान्धीजी की राह से ही हमें आजादी मिलेगी हमने अगर शान्तिके रास्ते को छोड़ा तो हम बर्षों भी आजाद नहीं हो सकते हैं शान्ति के रास्ते को छोड़कर चलने से ज्यादा कोई बुराई की बात नहीं है मेरी अपनी राय है और बहुत साफ़ राय है कि तश्दुद से हमें आजादी नहीं मिल सकती मेरा पूरा यकीन है कि इस रास्ते को पकड़ कर अपना भला नहीं कर सकते जो समझते हैं कि तश्दुद से काम चल सकता है वह गलती पर हैं ऐसा क्यों कहते हैं उन्हो ने अभी इसके नतीजों पर गौर नहीं किया है तश्दुद का रास्ता हमारे मुल्कके लिये बड़ा खतरनाक है इससे मुल्क में तबाही आजायगी भाई पर भाई जुलूम करेगा कही यह नहोने लगे कि भाई भाई पर तलवार चलाने लगे। मेरी समझ में यह खूब आगया है कि तश्दुद के रास्ते पर हम अपने इतने बड़े मुल्क को

साथ नहीं लेसकते। एक ही रास्ता हमारे लिये है वह है असहयोग का इस लिये मैं इसरार करता हूँ कि आज अच्छी तरह से समझ कर रेजुलेशन पर अपनी राय कायम करे मैंने यह रेजुलेशन इसी लिये पेश करना ठीक समझा कि मैं असहयोग की लड़ाई बहुत ऊँचे दर्जे की लड़ाई समझता हूँ मैं इसी वजहसे यह रेजुलेशन पेश कर रहा हूँ इसमें साफ २ लिखा है कि हम तशदुदसे कतई अलग हैं इस प्रस्ताव का एक ही मतलब है कि अगर आप इसे मंजुरे करते हैं तो आप असहयोग के रास्ते को ठीक समझ ते हैं इसलिये आप कोई दूसरा रास्ता अख्त्यार करें मैं इस बात को बहुत अच्छा समझता हूँ कि हम कदें कुछ करें कुछ यह आदमियत के बाहर है कि कदें कुछ करे कुछ हम अगर अपने मुल्कको आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो हमें साफ तरीकों के साथ चलना पड़ेगा अगर मसले का फैसला करना है तो साफ कीजिये, शायद यह बात कहीजाय कि जब हमने तशदुद के खिलाफ अपना रास्ता तय किया है तो फिर इस रेजुलेशन के लाने की क्या जरूरत है यह ठीकभी है और गलत भी है जब हम लम्बे सफर पर चले हैं तो एक २ पड़ाव पर बढ़ते रहे हैं न मालूम अभी कितने पड़ाव बाकी हैं अभीतो हमारा सफर शुरूही हुआ है हमने लड़ाई शुरूकी आज उसका नतीजा क्या हुआ आज मुल्क की नजर आती है, हमें तो आजादी हासिल करने के लिये, अपने आप को तैय्यार करना ही है बड़ी २ तैय्यारीया करनी पड़ेगी हमें तो तैय्यार होना ही है हमारा पड़ाव अभी लम्बा है हमें अभी अपने मकसद पर पहुंचने तक बहुत से रास्तोंपर गिरना पड़ेगा। हमारा फर्ज है कि हम गिरे तो दूसरों के लिये रास्ता साफ करदें वन्हे ठीक

रास्ता दिखा दें। हम बतला दें कि इस मुल्क में जिन्दा दिल रहते हैं यह मैं कह सकता हूँ कि मुल्क जिन्दा दिल है आप अच्छी तरहसे इस रेजुलेशन पर गौर करें तब अपनी गाय कायम करें। मेरी चाहश है कि मुल्क जल्दी आजाद हो। Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on rising to second the resolution was cheered to the echo and commenced speech in Hindi at 8-35 p. m.

मोलवीया जीने प्रस्ताव को समर्थन करते हुए हिन्दी में कहा बहनो और भाइयो मेरी जिन्दगी में सबसे बड़े दुःखका मौका आज आया है मैं कांग्रेस प्लेटफार्म से बहुत बोला हूँ लेकिन आज इस रेजुलेशन के तर्जुम करने में जो दुःख हो रहा है उसे मैं ही जानता हूँ उसे कितने लफजों में जाहिर करूं मैं उसे प्रकट नहीं कर सकता आपको पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरूने रेजुलेशन पढ़कर सुना दिया है आपने सुन लिया है मैं नहीं चाहता कि इसे फिर से दोहराऊँ और कार्य में आप लोगों का समय लूँ। आज कैसा समय है समय का लक्ष कैसा है मेरे लिये किया कम बख्ती का वख्त है क्युं यह हो रहा कि आज इन तीन नौजवानों की मृत्यु के प्रस्ताव पर मैं बोलने आया हूँ मैं इन नौजवानों की मृत्यु पर तर्जुम करने आया हूँ होना तो यह चाहिये था कि मेरे मरने पर यह नौजवान मेरे विषय में कुछ प्रेम के शब्द कह देते हा। आज जमाने की रफ्तार को कोई क्या करे यह कुछ नहीं हमारा दुर्भाग्य है हमारे देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि हमने अजहद कोशिश की पेट्रीशन वायसराय साहेब के पास पहुंचाये चारो तरफ से मुल्क की एक आवाज थी कि भगतसिंह को बचाओ लेकिन

नौकरशाही ने हमारी एक नहीं सुनी यह हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि हम इतनी कोशिश करने पर भी इन नौजवानों को नहीं बचा सके। भाइयो! आपको पंडीत जवाहरलाल ने यह बतला दिया है कि इस प्रस्ताव में क्या है यह भी आपको बता दिया है कि यह प्रस्ताव महात्माजी का बनाया हुआ है इस प्रस्ताव में यह साफ २ बतला दिया है कि हम इन नौजवानों की बहादुरी की तारिफ करते हैं लेकिन हम तद्दुष्ट से अलग रहते हैं। इसका क्या कारण है कि लाहौर से खबर आते ही सारे देश में एक विजली की तरहसे सनसनी फैल गई क्यों ऐसा आखिर हुआ इसकी तहमे क्या छुपा हुआ है इसका कारण हैं भगत्सिंह भारतमाता का ही प्रेमी नहीं था वह हमारे नौजवानों का प्रतिनिधी था उसके खयालात नौजवानों के खयालात प्रक करने के लिये काफी सबूत है उसके कारनोमे हमारे नौजवानों के खयालात जाहिर करने के लिये काफी सबूत थे। हमारे देश में एक अजनबी हालत पैदा हो गई है यह हालत इस लिये और भी खतरनाक है कि जब पेसे देशभी जहां विदेशी राज्य हो सबसे बड़ी मुसीबत खड़ी हो जाती है हमारे नौजवानों के लिये सबसे बड़ी अगर कोई बाबत चुभती है वह है हमारे देशमें विदेशी राज्य की और नौजवान एक क्षणभर भी यह नहीं बर्दाश्त कर सकते कि यहां विदेशी राज्य हो वह इसी उधेड़ धुन में रहते हैं कि किसी प्रकार हम अपने देश की स्वतंत्र

करें। नौजवानों के लिये यह सबसे बड़ी मुसीबत है कि विदेशी राज्य उनके मुँह में हो। विदेशी राज्य में जो तकलीफें हुआ करती हैं वह तकलीफें हम बहुत जमाने से बर्दाश्त करते आ रहे हैं हमने गवर्नमेंट के बार २ चेतावनी दी है कि जबतक यह तकलीफें दूर न होंगी हमारे मुँह में शान्ति नहीं होयगी मैंने कहा है कि यह तकलीफें हिन्दुस्तान के सरपडी हैं हम अनेक प्रकार की तकलीफें बर्दाश्त करते आ रहे हैं जब देखा कि हमें इन तकलीफों के दूर करने का इलाज दिखाई नहीं दिया जब हम बिल्कुल थक गये हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने भी एक नहीं सुनी तो क्या हुआ कि कुछ नौजवानों के दिल बिगड़ गये उनसे चुपचाप नहीं बैठा गया उन्हें शान्ति के प्रोग्राम में कोई यकीन नहीं रहा यह दिन कोई असम्भव बात नहीं आखिर क्या हुआ नतीजा यही हुआ कि हमारे बहुत से नौजवान आज भगतसिंह के लिये परेशान हो रहे हैं गो के हम उनके तरीकों का ना पसंद करते हैं उनके तरीकों का हम हमेशा से ना पसंद करते आये हैं हमें तो शान्ति मय प्रोग्राम के साथ चलना है इसलिये हम मार्ग से हट कर जो कोई भी काम करेगा हम उसके साथ नहीं चल सकते इन नौजवानों के कार नामे जहर हमें नापसंद है लेकिन इसके साथ साथ ही हम यह भी जानते हैं कि इन कामों के करने में इन जवानों की कोई खुद गर्जी नहीं यह हमें मानना पड़ेगा कि खुद गर्जी इन नौजवानों को इस रास्ते में नहीं

लेगी। भगतसिंह तथा दूसरे इसके साथियों को फांसी पर चढ़ाना इस बातका काफी साबूत है कि खुद्गजी इनको इस रास्ते पर नहीं ले गई वह मुश्किलें सच्ची स्वतंत्रता कायम करना चाहते थे। जो मुश्किलें में स्वतंत्रता कायम करने को फांसी पर चढ़ाने को तैयार है मैं अपने ऐसे नौजवानों की तारीफ करता हूं मैं आपका इस रेजुलेशन की ओर ध्यान दिलाता हूं हमने साफ २ कहा है कि हम इन नौजवानों की बहादुरी की तारीफ करते हैं और हम इन के तरीकों से अपने आपको अलहदा रखते हैं। मैं फिर कहूंगा कि उन्होंने जो भी किया है उसकी सबसे ज्यादा जिम्मेदारी उसपर है जो इस बख्त मौजूदा तरीका सलतनत का है सलतनत जुल्म पर जुल्म करती है हम चाहे कितना ही शान्ति का पाठ पठावे सलतनत जुल्म से बाज नहीं आती। वह जिम्मेवार है हमारे नौजवानों की इस रास्ते पर लेजाने के लिये जो काम भी हमारे नौजवान करते हैं वह सच्चाई से भरे होते हैं जल्द वह गलत रास्ते पर है लेकिन यह उनके दिल की तह से निकलते हैं जब बुजुर्ग ही ऐसा कहते हैं तो फिर नौजवानों का क्या कहना। आप अपना मौजूदा इतिहास उठाकर देखले दूर न जाय पिछले २० वर्ष का ही इतिहास देखें आप को मालूम होगा कि सन् १४ से अबतक कितने नौजवान फांसी चढ़गये, जब मुझे याद आती है वह किस्से तो मेरा दिल चाक हो जाता है अगर जल्दी स्वराज्य कायम हो जाता

तो मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि यह जाने बचजातीं। आप याद रखो अभी समय है कि ऐसे रास्ते से बचो अभी कुछ ज्यादा नहीं बिगड़ा है हम ठोकरें खाकर भी समझ सकते हैं मैं तो नौजवानों से यही कहूंगा कि बेचैन होनेसे क्या फायदा बुदबारी से काम लेना चाहिये। आप अच्छी तरह से समझ लो कि स्वराज्य देश में जल्दी कायम होना चाहिये यहभी याद रखो कि एक पराधीन देशको स्वतंत्रता जल्दी नहीं मिठा करती उसके लिये बड़े-२ यत्न करने पड़ते हैं सैकड़ों तरीकों का इस्तेमाल करना पड़ता है हम बहुत समयसे अपने देशको स्वतंत्र करने में लगे हुए हैं लेकिन अभी दिल्ली दूरस्त है मेरा विश्वास है कि यह अदम-तशदुद की लड़ाई एक ऐसी लड़ाई है जिसका हमें नया सबक मिठा है आपने देख लिया होगा कि इस लड़ाई से हम कितना अपने मुल्क को आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं जिस कदर हिम्मत no-violent अहिंसात्मक लड़ाई में होती है वह violent हिंसात्मक लड़ाई से कहीं ज्यादा हिम्मत की भांग रखती है अहिंसात्मक लड़ाई में हमें ज्यादा सन्तोष और दिलेरी के साथ कामलेना पड़ता है आज जो रंज से हमारे दिलभरे हैं वह क्यों इसका एक कारण है वह यह कि इन नौजवानों ने तशदुद से काम लिया अगर वह अहिंसात्मक प्रोग्राम पर चलते होते तो आज यह रंजका समय हमें देखना नहीं पड़ता। भगतसिंह ने ऐसा क्यों किया

यह महसूस करो कि यह उसकी बड़ी sacrifice बलिदान थी लेकिन तुम समझलो कि हमें स्वराज्य प्राप्त करना है अहिंसात्मक मार्ग पर चलने से चाहे तुम्हें कितने ही कष्टों न जोश दिलाये जाय कि हिंसा करो कि विदेशी राज्य का दुख दूर करेंगे। महात्मा जीने अहिंसात्मक प्रोग्राम ही हमारे सामने रक्खा है हमारा धर्म हो है कि हम इसके महत्त्व को अच्छी तरह से समझें भगतसिंह ने भी जो चिट्ठी लिखी है उसमें उन्होंने लिखा है कि हम शान्तिमय तरीकों से स्वराज्य कायम करते लेकिन सलतनतने हमारी एक न सुनी गवर्नमेंट ने हमारे कहने को एक न माना कांग्रेस ने बचाने के कोशिश की और गवर्नमेंट को यह यकीन दिलाया कि अगर वह हम को इस सजासे रहाकर कोई इतरी सजा भी दे वे तो देश में शान्ति कायम हो सकती हैं गवर्नमेंट ने हमारी एक पुकार नहीं सुनी इसका मायना यह हुआ कि अगर भगतसिंह बच जाता तो एक भगतसिंह की ही जान बचती अब भगतसिंह नहीं बचा हमें ईश्वर ने सबक पढ़ाया है कि हम सलतनत को बदलने में तनिक भी देर न करें

। य सकारण होना चाहिये कि हम जल्दी से जल्दी उस काम को पूरा करें जिस काम के लिये भगतसिंह ने अपने जीवनका बलिदान किया इसकी सबसे प्रबल इच्छा थी कि जल्दी से जल्दी विदेशी राज्य को बदल दें अप्रण आप भारतमें भगतसिंह से प्रेम करते हो तो अप्रण करो कि

शान्ति मय मार्ग पर चलते हुए विदेशी राज्यको शीघ्रसे शीघ्र हटायेंगे तभी भगतसिंह की आत्मा को शान्ति मिल सकती है। आपने पढ़ा है कि घायसरायने कहा है कि जो शान्ति की पुकार करते हैं वही उनके बचाने की कोशिश करते हैं।

आप समझ गये होंगे कि प्रस्ताव के तीन हिस्से हैं तीसरे हिस्से में यह बताया गया है कि जब सुल्ह करने की कोशिश की तो शान्ति से विचार करना जरूरी है शर्त लगा कर सुल्ह नहीं हो सकती शान्ति से विचार करने से ही सुल्ह की शर्तों पर विचार हो सकता है कांग्रेस ने शर्त लगाई थी कि सुल्ह की पहली शर्त यह हो कि लड़ाई के सब कैदी छोड़ दिये जाय क्या यह कभी मुमकिन हो सकता है कि जब कुछ कैदी जेलों में पड़े रहे उस वक्त हम सुल्ह की बातें करें यह मौका था कि गवर्नमेंन्ट इस शर्त को मानती यह सारे मुद्दों की पुकार थी यह कांग्रेस नहीं कहती थी उन्हें छोड़ें वह तो यही कहती थी कि उन्हें फांसी से छोड़कर आ जन्न कैद की सजा दे दे अगर सलतनत इसें मंजुरे कर लेती तो अङ्गरेजी सलतनत तबाह नहीं होजाती बल्कि फल यह होता कि सैकड़ों नौजवानों के दिल ठंडे होजाते। दूसरा सबक हमें यह मिला कि हमारी ताकत इतनी कमजोर है कि कोई सुनवाई नहीं हुई। महात्मा गान्धी जैसे पुरुष जिसकी अमेरिका भी तारीफ करती है

की बात वायसराय ने नहीं सुनी इसने मेरे हृदयमें छोटकी कील का और भी गहरी गाढ़ दी है।

आपका ध्यान जो इस तरफ दिलाया है इसमें तरभीम वेश हैं। यह प्रस्ताव तीन हिस्सों में बटा हुआ है पहिले हिस्से में हम बता देते हैं कि हमारा ध्येय क्या है आज हम अङ्गरेजो से यह कहते हैं कि वह अपने को इस स्थान में रखें जिस स्थिति में हम है काश ऐसी घटना बहूँ हुई होती तो क्या इन नौजवानों को फांसी मिल जाती कभी नहीं, मेरी शक्ति नहीं कि उनकी तारीफ कर सब यह मंजूर करते हैं कि उन्होंने जो भी किया मुल्क के प्रेम में किया। तुम ऐसा करो जैसा कि कांग्रेस और महात्मा जी तुम्हे बताते हैं तुम ऐसा करलोगे तो मुल्क का इन्तजाम जल्दी ही तुम्हारे हाथों में होगा। तुम दुनिया में इज्जत पावोगे। इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर इस प्रस्ताव को पास करो भगतसिंह का शरीर गया उनकी राख रावी में फैकदी है वह भारतमाता की गोद में छेद गये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि नौजवानों के अन्दर उसकी बहादुरि और प्रेम नक्श बनें। शुद्ध भावसे जान देते हुए शान्तिमय रास्ते

से भारत में जबतक पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता कायम न कर दोगे तब तक उसका नाम न भूलेंगे ऐसा तुम प्रण करो। इसी से तुम्हारा और भारत का नाम ऊँचा होगा। आखिरी हिस्से में कहा है कि उनके रिश्तेदारों से हम हमदर्दी करते हैं उनके पिता सरदार किशनसिंह यहाँ मौजूद हैं इतना सदमा रखते हुए वह आपकी कांग्रेस में शामिल होगये वास्तवमें वह भगतसिंह के पिता होने के लायक थे ईश्वर उन्हें शान्ति दे। मैं परमात्मा से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि जो बुढ़े हो गये हैं जो मुल्क की सेवा में पीछे नहीं हैं नौजवान इत्तफाक से काम करें। आप अपने लिये एक कार्यक्रम कायम करलो थोड़े दिन के लिये एक नीति कायम करलो सब नौजवान क्या बुढ़े सब शामिल होजाओ मेरी अर्ज है कि सब एक दिल हो जाओ। गवर्नमैन्ट को मालूम हो जायगा कि अब हिन्दु मुसलमान हो गये हैं नौजवान महात्मा जी के कथन के अनुसार नियमित के लिये तैय्यार हैं। आप एक होंगे तो आपकी जय होगी।



Pundit Jawaharlal's Hindi Speech.

After his speech was over, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with the permission of the Chair requested the father of Bhagatsingh (Sardar Kishan Singh) and the mother of Rajguru, both of whom were present at the session, to come to the rostrum which they did. Rajguru's mother got on a chair to the rostrum so that she might be seen by all, and bowed the audience.

Sirdar Kishensingh, (the father of Bhagatsing) then addressed in Hindi with the permission of the Chair.

Sardar Kishansing's Hindi Speech

राजगुरु की माता मौजूद है इस माता को कितना भारी सद्मा पहुंचा है मैं इस माता को प्रणाम करता हूं।

तत्पश्चात् सरदार किशनसिंह ने भाषण देते हुए हिन्दुस्तानी में कहा:- "प्रेमिडेन्ट साहब, बहनो और भाइयो! अभी आपके सामने मेरे बारे में जो कुछ भी प्रीति प्रेम प्रकट किया गया है मैं उसके लिये आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं। मुझ से यह कहा गया है कि इस रेजुलेशन के मुतअलक कुछ आप से कहूं। आप की सेवा में पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने बहुत कुछ कह दिया है कि पं० मालवीय जी के हृदय में जो इन बच्चों के लिये प्रेम था मैं उसे सुनता रहा हूं और देखता भी रह हूं। मालवीय जी के हृदय में

इन बच्चों के लिये बहुत प्रेम था। मैंने देखा है कि मालवीय जी ने किस तरह से कोशिश की कि इनकी जान बक्श दी जाय। मुझे यह खबर मिला करती थी कि मालवीय जी इसी धुन में रहा करते थे कि जो भी हो सके कोशिश की जाय और अगर सरकार इस बात को मान जाय कि इनको फांसी न देकर दूसरी कोई सजा दे दे तो अच्छा हो यह उन के लिये प्रेम ही तो था। हमारे पूज्य मोतीलाल नेहरू इनका ख्याल रखते आये मैं सुनता आया हूँ कि पण्डित जी के दिल में इन बच्चों के लिये बहुत प्रेम था। वह इतने बड़े पुरुष होते हुए भी जब कभी उन्हें वक्त मिलता था वह इन से मिला करते थे यह प्रेम ही तो था। अपना बेशकीमती वक्त निकाल कर ये पुरुष इन बच्चों की देख भाल रक्खा करते थे। मैं कुछ थोड़ा सा कह कर समाप्त कर दूंगा। मैं आप से ज्यादा क्या कहूँ आप के सामने जो खास २ बातें थीं वह सब पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू व पण्डित मालवीय जी ने बतला दिया है। आप सब सुन ही चुके हो कि इन बच्चों को किस तरह फांसी पर लटकाया गया। इन सब बातों के दुहराने से क्या फायदा, जितनी बार आप सुन चुके हो आप समझ ही गये होंगे कि गवर्नमेन्ट ने कहां तक न्याय और इन्साफ से काम लिया है। लेकिन मैं यह भी जानता हूँ कि आपका मुल्क गुलाम है। गुलामी दूर करने के लिये हम सबों को यत्न करना

पड़ेशा। किसी मुल्क को आजाद करने में बड़ी कुर्बानियाँ करनी पड़ती हैं। हमारे मुल्क में तो और भी बहुत सी दिक्कतें हैं। यहां एक जाति का दूसरी जाति पर विश्वास नहीं है हिन्दू मुसलमानों के झगड़े होते रहते हैं। यह काम नौजवानों का ही है कि वह इन झगड़ों को मिटा कर अपना २ रास्ता ठीक कर लें। १९०६ में हम दो भाई कलकत्ते में गये थे वह समय कुछ दूसरा ही था, उस वक्त देश में इतनी जाग्रति पैदा नहीं हुई थी जितनी हम आज देखते हैं। उस वक्त बंगाल में जरूर काम शुरू हो गया था, हमने कलकत्ते पहुंचने पर वहां की हालत देख कर यह वायदा किया था कि लाहोर में काम करेंगे। उस वक्त पञ्जाब की वह हालत नहीं थी जैसी कि आज हम देख रहे हैं किसी की भी हिम्मत नहीं होती थी कि सरकार के खिलाफ कुछ ज्यादा बोल सके। मामूली कामों की कमियां भी कोई नहीं बतला सकता था। वह जमाना एक अजीब था उस वक्त जो कानून गवर्नमेन्ट से बनाये जाते थे उनका विरोध करने के अपराध में बड़ी २ सजायें मिलती थीं। उस वक्त किसी कानून का विरोध करना अपने लिये आफत मोल लेना था। भाई अजीतसिंह ने गवर्नमेन्ट के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई ही थी कि फौरन ही उनको Deport देश निकाला दे दिया गया। इतना ही नहीं सैकड़ों नौजवानों को जिन्होंने जरा भी हरकत की उसे ही जेल में ठूस दिया। इस तरह

से सैकड़ों नौजवान जेलों में ठूस दिये गये। सरदार खड़क सिंह को पहिले ही जेल में बन्द कर रखा था सरदार खड़कसिंह का नाम आपने सुन रक्खा होगा उनकी देश सेवा भी एक नमूना थी। मैं तो चाहता था कि उनके दर्शन हमें मिल जाते लेकिन जब हम जेल में पहुँचे तो सरदार खड़क सिंह गुम गये थे। जब हम कलकत्ते से लाहोर आये तो हम वहाँ देश सेवा का काम करने लगे, हमें जेलों में भर दिया गया। जब हम जेल से लौट कर आये तो यह भगत सिंह पैदा हुआ था। हमारी यह पूरी इच्छा थी हम यही चाहते थे कि यह बच्चा देश के काम आये। हमारी यह इच्छा थी और आज हम देख रहे हैं कि उसने अपनी जान देश की सेवा में निछावर कर दी। आज सारा देश उसके लिये रो रहा है। उस समय ऐसा वक्त न था जैसा कि आज कल उन्हें जो शिक्षा दी गई वह देश सेवा की थी। उस वक्त पढ़ाने लिखाने की ऐसी सुविधायें नहीं थीं जैसी आज कल हैं। उस वक्त में भी मुल्क के कामों में इतना लगा रहता था कि मुझे इतनी ज्यादा फुर्सत नहीं मिलती थी कि मैं उसकी शिक्षा की देख रेख कर सकता मैं उसे अधिक नहीं पढ़ा सका चूँकि मुझे भी जेल में बहुत रहना पड़ा। इस कारण मैं उसे अधिक उच्च शिक्षा नहीं दे सका। मेरे जेल में रहने के कारण उसने स्कूल में जाना बन्द कर दिया। भगतसिंह कहा करता था कि जब तक भारत माता को गुलामी की जंजीरों से न छुड़ा लूंगा तब तक शादी नहीं करूँगा और वह अपने प्रण का पूरा रहा। उसने अन्त समय तक शादी नहीं की। हम यह कोशिश करते कि वह शादी कर ले हम कहा करते थे कि भाई हम

बूढ़े हैं हमारे दिल की बात रखलो लेकिन उसे हमारी बात नहीं पसन्द आती थी। उसके दिल में एक यही लौ लगी हुई थी कि देश आजाद हो। जब शादी का जिक्र हुआ वह चन्द रोज पहिले ही घर छोड़ कर भाग गया। फिर पता चला कि वह भाग कर गणेश शङ्कर विद्यार्थी के यहां कानपुर में रहा था। दिल्ली में भगत और दत्त दोनों ने मिल कर काम किया। उन दोनों में बड़ा प्रेम हो गया था वह दोनों एक दूसरे को सगे भाई समझते थे। मेरे सब कुन्घे वाले दत्त और भगत को बराबर समझते थे। जहां कहीं जिक्र होता था यही कहा जाता था कि दत्त भगत कहां है। वह दोनों इतने दूर २ के प्रान्तों के रहने वाले होते हुए भी ऐसे एक दूसरे से मिल गये थे कि यह मालूम करना मुश्किल था कि यह दो अलग २ प्रान्तों के रहने वाले हैं। हर वक्त एक साथ रहना, एक जगह खाना, एक साथ ही सोन उठना इनका था। एक दूसरे के दर्द में दर्द समझते थे। यह दोनों एक साथ दिल्ली में पकड़े गये जब यह पकड़े गये और मैं दिल्ली में इनसे मिलने गया तो उसने समझा कि मैं उसकी पैरवी करूंगा वह परेशान था और चाहता था कि उसकी पैरवी मैं कतई न करू। गवर्नमेन्ट ने आखिरी वक्त तक उसके साथ जो सलूक किया है वह बहुत ही बेजा था। उन्हें मामूली अदालत से Try नहीं किया खास अदालत उनके लिये बैठाई। क्या यह भी कोई इन्साफ है इतना ही नहीं जो बर्ताव फांसी के वाद किया वह बहुत ही शर्मनाक है। हमें फांसी के वक्त मिलने भी नहीं दिया। कानून यह कहता है कि फांसी के लगने से पहिले वह अपने खून के रिस्तेदारों से मिल सकता था लेकिन हमें नहीं मिलने दिया। सुपरिन्टेन्डेन्ट जेल से

पूछा तो डिप्टी कमिश्नर का नाम ले देता था। डिप्टी कमिश्नर कहता था कि जब तक लोकल गवर्नमेन्ट से न से न पूछ ले तब तक हम कुछ नहीं कर सकते। हम से भगत ने कहा था कि तुम परेशान न हो मुझे फांसी लगने दो यही ठीक है। हमें फांसी लगी तो एक हफ्ते में ही स्वराज्य मिल जायगा। वह कहता था कि ग्रिवी कौंसिल में जाने से भी कोई फायदा नहीं चूँ कि गुलामों का हक नहीं है कि शिकायत करें। पुलिस ने मेरे साथ क्या थोड़ी ज्यादाती की है मुझे झूठे मुकद्दमों में फंसाया जो हो सका मेरे साथ जुल्म किया मुझे इतना मौका भी नहीं दिया कि मैं ठीक २ इनकी पैरवी कर सकता होता। मेरे से उसने कहा था कि मैं हर हफ्ते उससे मिल जाया करूँ जब कि दूसरे हफ्ते मैं उससे मिलने गया था तो उसने कहा था कि यह हमारी आखिरी मुलाकात है आखिरी दिन हमको चिट्ठी आई कि उस के रिस्तेदार मिललें। हम मिलने भी नहीं पाये थे कि अखबार में यह खबर पढ़ी कि इनको फांसी दे दी गई, यह गवर्नमेन्ट का न्याय है।

नौजवानों से मैं दो लफ्ज कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप शान्ति कायम करें। दिमाग को Control में लाकर अपना काम करें। आपने ऐसा कर लिया तो तभी आप भारत माता की गुलामी की जंजीरों से छुड़ा सकेंगे। अपने जनरल को पूरी इमदाद दें। उसे इकतलाफ रखते हुए भी उसका साथ दें। कांग्रेस के नेताओं का पूरा पूरा साथ दें तभी आप अपने देश को गुलामी की जंजीरों से रिहा कर सकते हैं।

President:—

All those who have given notice of their intention to move and second the two amendments, except Mr. V. Sastri (Andhra) have agreed to withdraw their amendments. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chathopadyaya has also agreed not to second Mr. Sastri's amendment. Mr. Sastri. Do you still insist upon moving your amendment?

Mr. Sastri. Yes, Sir.

President.—

Alright, Please go to the rostrum and move your amendment.

Mr. Sastri.—

Mr. President and Gentlemen, I am not able to speak to you in Hindi. I confess I feel ashamed that I cannot speak in Hindi. I can speak to you only in English. It is very important that we should not waste time on this question.

Two big leaders of this nation have moved and seconded the resolution and when I heard their speeches I thought they were speaking for the amendment and not for the resolution because, friends, the only difference that arises between the amendment and the resolution is this. In moving my amendment that these few words "whilst dissociating itself from and disapproving of political violence in any form or shape"

should be deleted. I want that any honour that we are doing to the great Bhagatsingh, the great Sukhdev and the great Rajguru, who have given their lives at the altar of legal violence, if it can be called legal at all, should not be half-hearted or stinted. But for a lot of friends I have, I would not have stood before you. In moving this resolution we want that the honour of Bhagatsingh, Sukhdev and Rajguru should be maintained not in a half-hearted manner, not in a stinting spirit, but without any qualification. These three young men were sent to the gallows at the psychologically wrong moment even if they had to be hanged. The Government have bungled and after the bungle, the Viceroy, as the representative of the Government, said that they did more directly deserve the punishment according to the law. There was no tribunal, there was no proper legal authority to punish them and when the nation asked the Government that the death sentences should be commuted, even that favour was not shown. Friends, compare this with the position in Ireland. That is however, a different matter. As 'a humble apostle of Mahatma Gandhi, I stand before you on bended knees and with folded hands. I feel however, the insult very keenly and do not wish to allow this half-hearted and stinting and grudging honour to be shown to the three great heroes. I want you to admire the bravery and sacrifice of the late Bhagatsingh and his comrades in the most liberal, unambiguous spirit. The two supporters of the resolution have already spoken, but I do want of you, of as many delegates as are here, to say that these words "whilst dissociating itself from and disapproving of political violence in any form or shape"

should be deleted. I say this not because I am an apostle of violence. Far from it. I submit that having lived the life of non-violence for 365 days of the year from March 1930 to March 1931, facing bullets, facing lathies, facing such sufferings as the Government wanted me to undergo, facing all the attacks of violence that the Government was capable of, having actually lived the life of a non-violent follower of Gandhiji, I claim that it is now derogatory to the sense of dignity and nobility of this house to say that we all stand against any form or shape of non-violence (?violence).

A friend has suggested to me that I may request the President for a translation of my speech for the benefit of the Hindi-knowing friends who are in a large number here. I beg of Mr. Jamna'ai to translate this speech for me. I beg this indulgence.

President:—

I can let you speak but I cannot give you a translator.

Mr. Sastri:—

I have a translator, Sir.

President:—

Mr. Sastri, you have finished, please get down and let your seconder second your amendment; otherwise it will fall through for want of a seconder. I suppose you hear that?

Mr. Sastri:—

I want a translator, please.

President:—

I have told you that you have finished and

you wanted me to send you a translator and have have chosen one now. Please get down Mr. Sastri.

Mr. Sastri:-

I tell you, Sir, I have not finished.

President:-

Mr. Sastri, will you please take your seat ?

Mr. Sastri:-

The loudspeaker is disconnected (*laughter*).

Several delegates:- Obey the chair, you proposer of amendment.

President:-

If you do not hear me and come down from the rostrum, Mr. Sastri, I shall have to take other steps.

Mr. Sastri then came down and Dr. Tarachand Lalwani seconded the amendment in Hindi.

Dr. Tarachand's Speech.

भाइयो और बहने ! जो तरमीम शास्त्रीजीने पेश की है मैं उसकी तरमीम करता हुं आपने मूल प्रस्ताव भी सुन लिया है और उसमें जो तारीफ हुइ है उसे भी आपने सुन लीया है । हमने प्रस्तावमें कहा है की हम उनकी बहादुरी की तारीफ की हे लेकिन उनके कार्यक्रम से हम अलग रहते हैं ॥ इस प्रस्तावमें भगतसिंह वगैरे की जो लीडरोंने तारीफ की हे उसको सुनकर मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि किस प्रकार उन नफरत प्रकट कि जाती हैं मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि हम क्यों इन नौजवानों से नफरत प्रकट कर रहे हैं उन्हें ने जो कुछ भी किया वह देश का सबसे बड़ा हित समझ कर किया था स्वार्थ के बश में होकर नहीं । फिर आज इस प्रस्ताव के अन्दर न जाने क्यों ऐसे शब्द रक्खे गये हैं ॥ यह मैं जानता हु कि प्रस्ताव का बड़े बड़े लीडरोंने समर्थन किया है वह पास जरूर हो जायगा लेकिन मैं चाहता हु कि उसमें यह भी मिला दिया जाय ठीक इसी तरह ठराव गोपीनाथ साइके बारेमें फरीदपूर कान्फरन्समें पास हुआ था वही प्रस्ताव अहमदाबाद कांग्रेसमें पेश हुआ स्वयं महात्माजी ने उस प्रस्ताव का विरोध किया ॥ वर्कॉग कमेटीने इस प्रस्ताव को बनाया हे इस पर खूब श्रद्धाओं तरह सोच लिया है वर्कॉग कमेटीको मुबारकबादी देनी चाहिये कि जो रेजोलेशन १९२४ में पास नही हुआ आज पेश हुआ है आज कितना जमाना गुजर गया आज जमाना और है अब वह नहीं है कि हम यह बहस करें कि अहिंसा वृत्त ठीक है या तुरा. यह तो सब मानते हैं कि अहिंसा का कार्यक्रम हमारे देशके लिये हितकर है यह तो

हमारे creed मेंही लिखा है कि हम स्वराज्य अहिंसात्मक लड़ाइयों से
 हासिल करेंगे फिर सम्झने नहीं आता कि उस बात को फीर फीर
 दोहरा का क्यों बहस में लाये, वर्किंग कमेटी कहती है कि इस हिंसाको
 condemn करो ॥ फीर उनकी दुबानी को सुवारकवादी देते हैं
 सम्झ में नहीं आता कि फीर क्यों वर्किंग कमेटीने यह प्रस्ताव पेश
 किया है हमारी सम्झने नहीं आता कि अगर वर्किंग कमेटी यह बातें
 निकाल दे तो उसका क्या नुकसान है दूसरी बात यह है कि कांग्रेस इस
 वस्तु Indian Government हिंदोस्तान की गवर्नमेंट सम्झती है
 फीर कैसे वह कहती है की इनके कामों को condemn किया जाय
 गवर्नमेंट Law and Order की पुकार करती है लाहौर में
 सा इ म न क मी श न के वस्तु

लाला लजपतराय पर लाठीचो बरसाई गई उसका एक ताससे हुवा,
 पुलिसकी लाठीचो पड़ी फिर (Law and order) कहाँ कोयम रह
 सकता है अब महात्मा गांधीने पुलिसकी ज्यादती के बारेमें कहा की
 जांच होनी चाहिये गवर्नमेंटने कहा की पुलिस जोभी कर रही है वह
 ठीक कर रही है तो फिर हमको Violence को Condemn करते
 हैं हम फिर उसकोहीम्मतकी सूवारक वादी देते हैं जब वह देशके लीये
 अपनेको नेछावर कर चुका तो इस वक्त वह फजुल है कि उनके कार्यों
 को condemn किया जाय हमारा अपना अहिंसा का मार्ग है फिर
 हम क्यों व्यर्थ में इन लोगोंके कामोंकी नुछा चीनी करें आप
 इस स'शोधन को जरूर पास करें.

After Dr. Tarachand's speech a delegate moved for closure.

President.

A closure has been applied for now. Those who are for the closure, will please raise hands.

The President declared that a vast majority of delegates were in favour of the closure.

Mr. Sastri

I want you to take votes, Sir.

President.

On what do you want a vote? Have you heard of a poll on a motion for closure? I am, however prepared to take votes if you like. Those who want the discussion to continue, *i. e.* those who are against the closure and want to hear more speeches, will please raise hands. The President then declared that the closure was carried.

Mr. Sastri's amendment was put to the votes and was declared lost.

The original resolution was then put to the vote and declared carried.

Mr. Sri Prakash

A notice was given before that there would be no session of the Congress to-morrow. But there will be a session of the Congress at 6 P. M. to-morrow.

With the singing of **Bande Mataram**, the first day's session came to a close at 10 P. M.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The second day of the Open Session of the 45th Indian National Congress commenced at 6 P. M. on Monday, the 30th March 1931, in the Motilal Pandal, Harchandrai Vishindas Nagar, Karachi, with the singing of National songs, under the presidency of Sardar Vallabhai Patel. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on being called upon by the Chair, spoke in Hindi on moving the following resolution regarding the Gandhi-Irwin Settlement.

Gandhi Irwin Settlement.

This Congress, having considered the provisional settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India, endorses it, and desires to make it clear that the Congress goal of Purna Swaraj (complete independence) remains intact. In the event of the way being otherwise open to the Congress to be represented at any conference with the representatives of the British Government, the Congress delegation will work for this goal and in particular, so as to give the nation control over the army, external affairs, finance and fiscal and economic policy, and to have a scrutiny, by an impartial tribunal, of the financial transactions of the British Government in India and to examine and assess the obligations to be undertaken by India or England, and the right to either party to end the partnership at will. Provided, however, that the Congress delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of India.

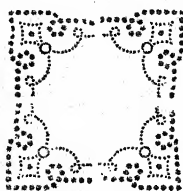
The Congress appoints and authorises Mahatma Gandhi to represent it at the Conference with the addition of such other delegates as the working Committee may appoint to act under his leadership.

Pandit Jawaherlal's Speech.



पंडीत जवाहरलाल नेहरुने ऊपरोक्त प्रस्ताव पेश करते हुए कहा की एक साल पहिले उन्होने लाहोरमें पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता का झंडा फहराया था और अपने मकसद को पहांचने के लिये पीछले चार महिनोंमें उन्होने एक जंग भी लड़ा जीस्मे लाखों स्त्री पुरुष बच्चोंने हिस्सा लिया वो एक अइसा प्रस्ताव रखने जा रहा हैं की जीस्में जनता के दिलमें कुछ संदेह पैदा हो जानेका भय है लेकिन मैं इस भयको हटा देना चाहता हुं हम पूर्ण स्वराज्य लेनेका निश्चय कर चुके हैं और जब तक वह प्राप्त नहि हुआ तब तक हम चैन नहि लेंगे इस वखत मैं आपके सामने एक प्रस्ताव पेश करने आया हुं जीस्की निस्वत यह कहा गया है की यह मुकमल आजादीसे कम है हमने लाहौरमें प्रतिज्ञा की थी की अंग्रेजों के साथ अपना संबंध न रखेगे जब दील्ही में मुल्ताह का सवाल चल रहा था तो दिलमें दुःख था के हम क्या कर रहे है क्या यह बायदा खिलाफी न होगी अइसे खयालात मेरे दिलमें गुजर रहेथे आपके दिलमें भी गुजर रहे होंगे यह सानदार साल जो गुजरा है क्या इस्के मुकाबले में अइसी अदना बात मान लें इस्के ऊपर हमने काफी गौर किया हम काभील आजादी के लिये हुकुमत को मजबुर करेगे अगर नहि मीली तो हम लड़ेगे हमने पिछले साल बहुत कुछ काम किया है और हम जानते है की इस वखत हमारे दीलों में पहिले वहीत शक थे की हम कुछ न कर सकेंगे लेकिन

लोगोंने जीस मुस्तादी के साथ काम किया है उसने दीखला दिया की हम आजादी के साथ लड़ाई लड़ सकते हैं पार्लमेन्ट के बुर्गर्स इस धोखे में है कि काँग्रेस जैसे ही मान जायगी इस लिये वह वायदे पर वायदे करते आये है हम उन्हें साफ बतला देना चाहते है की अब धोखे नहि चलेंगे हम I. T. C. में नहि जा सकते जब तक कि हम अपने मकसद को पेश न कर ले दुसरी बात है कि आपके नमायंदे वहां जाकर क्या कहें इस लीमे आप उन्हें बता देते हैं की वह वहां जाकर लाहौरका Resolution रखे अंतर्में आपने कहा कि हम इमानदारी के साथ ये फैसला करना चाहते हैं हम कहते है कि हिन्दुस्तान का मामला किसी भी Impartial Tribunal के सामने रखदो वह यहांसे बहुतसा सोना चांदी बांधकर ले गये और फिर कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान हमारा करजदार है चीनके खीलाफ हमारे बहादुर सीपाही लडे उनसे दुसरी कोई दुश्मनी नही है हम अब मुकलम आभादीके लीये लडेगे.



Dr. Ansari's Speech.

सदर साहबन मुजसे कहा हे कि मैं ही इस Resolution की ताहीद करूं। Resolution में दिल्ली समझौते को माननेके लिये कहा गया है। मुझे मालूम है की हमारे नवजवानोंने उसके मूतल्लीक कीतनि मामूली का इरादा जाहीर किया है। आपको मालूम है की यह समझौता एक कानूनीनपे तूले अलफाज मै लिखा गया है जहीतक काँग्रेसका तालुक है जो मतलब कीया गया था वह हासिल होगया। मैं यह नहीं कहताहूं की लडाई बनाव गई हे अगर हमें आजादी नहीं मिली तो हम लड़ेंगे। इस मे यहभीसाफ कर दिया गया है यहभी बतादिया गया है की फौज, हवाईजहाज Defence वगैरे जो चिजे हे इन पर आपका पुरा इख्तियार होगा। मुलककी माली हालत पर आप आपना पुरा इख्तियार रखेंगे यांनी Fiecal मामलात मे भी आपका पूरा इख्तियार होगा इस तरहसे आप देखेंगे की इन मामलात पर कब्जा होनेमे मूल्कको पुरी आजादी आपकर सकता है की काँग्रेस ने कमजोरी दिखाई है। ख्याल करते हैं वह गलती मे है वह मूल्ककि ताकतका पूरा अन्दाजा नहीं करते वह आपनी कमजोरी का ख्याल कर-

ते है। मूलकमे एक सालके अन्दर जों काम दिखाया है उसकी वजह से आज Secretary of State और Viceroy मुल्क की ताकत को समझ गये है मुझे इस का ख्याल है कि आपके नुमाइन्दे जो R. T. C. में जायगे वह पूर्ण स्वराज्य के लिख लडेगे। वह इससे कम बात के लिए अपना सर नहीं झुका सकते तो अजीज भाइयो! आप इस Resolution पर अच्छी तरह से गौर करें और यह समझे की हम कीर्मी तरह से भी अपने वायदों से पीछे नहि हट रहे है। हमने जो वायदे कीये वो हम उस पर खडे हुए है हम कभी भी पबलीक को धोखे में रखना नहि चाहते। आप अपने दिलों से यह बात नीकाल दे कि हिन्दोस्तान कमजोर मुल्क है आप अपने ऊपर भरोसा करें और आपके जों नुमाइन्दे जायगें उन पर भी आप भरोसा करें वह वहि बात करेंगे जिस से हिन्दोस्तान के लिए आजादि दिन पर दिन नजदीक आये। आप इस Resolution को पास करें।



Mr. Jamnadas Mehta's Opposition.

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, opposing the resolution, spoke as follows :—

Mr. President, Brother and Sister delegates,

I had given notice of an amendment to the President against this resolution which runs as follows :—

"This Congress repudiates the Provisional settlement arrived at between Mahatma Gandhi and His Excellency Lord Irwin as inconsistent with the resolution on Independence passed at Lahore and directs the Working Committee to desist from any further negotiations on this behalf. The President has ruled this out of order because, in his opinion, this is a negation of the original proposition. I bow to his ruling. I am, therefore, here to make a few observations by way of opposing the original resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Two years ago, it was my privilege to second an amendment moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggesting Independence in place of Dominion Status. It is my misfortune to-day to oppose him.

The resolution he has moved, is in my opinion, not at all anything approaching independence but really watering down what the Congress had done at Lahore. There can be no question whatever, that whatever may be the brave words in the resolution, it is really watering down the Independence Resolution passed at Lahore. You cannot eat a cake and have it. You cannot go to the Round Table Conference hedged round with condi-

tions and tell the World that you are still sticking to Independence. If anybody has carefully perused the terms of what was called the 'Truce', now more properly called the Provisional settlement, you will find that after agreement, to go to the Round Table Conference, the Resolution of Independence passed at Lahore, collapses automatically, because of the limitations placed on those who go to the Round Table Conference.

In the statement which was published over the signature of Mr. Emerson, in the beginning of this month, it is clearly laid down that so far as the first question of constitutional reform is concerned, there will be further discussion of what happened at the Round Table Conference in January last. Of those discussions, Federation is an essential part just as are safeguards and reservations about Finance, about Military Expenditure, about External affairs and various other things. It is commonly known that if there is any safeguard attached to Independence, that safeguard cannot be in favour of independence. That safeguard can only militate against complete independence. You cannot have 16 annas with safeguards which will retain 16 annas intact. Sixteen annas with safeguards means an anna taken away from here, an anna taken away from there, and what remains may be merely a truncated form of responsible Government. Therefore let there be no mistake as to what this House is called upon to do in passing this resolution. The Resolution goes on to say that the Indian delegation will accept only such adjustments as are demonstrably necessary in the interests of India. Now I have already told you that there can be no safeguard which can be in the interests of India and much less there can be any

safeguard which can demonstrably be in the interests of India. They can only be in the interests of England and countries other than India. The Viceroy's speech on this question delivered at the Chelmsford Club three days ago ought to leave no room in the minds of the Working Committee as to what is meant by the so-called safeguards. You know that a great deal has been made about the safeguards, as in the interest of India or Britain, and Lord Irwin has said there can be nothing which cannot be in the interests of both. His Excellency goes on to say that we are quite prepared to discuss any safe-guards other than those which are provided by the Round Table Conference, but let there be no mistake as to what those safeguards are. He says, if however in the course of further constitutional discussion any of those participating in it desire to suggest other financial safeguards, His Majesty's Government in accordance with the terms of the truce would be prepared to give such suggestions careful consideration.

If, in the case of particular safeguards, alternative suggestions are made, it follows from what I have said concerning the principal purpose underlying the safeguards that the acceptance by His Majesty's Government of such alternative suggestions would depend upon the ability of those proposing them to convince his Majesty's Government that they would be equally effective for the purpose above described. That means that the only right of the Congress delegation would be to suggest some alternative which is equally essential for safeguarding the British interests. Therefore a resolution which limits the Congress delegation to those safeguards only which

are demonstrably necessary in the interests of India is a mere moon-shine, is an eye-wash, is bound to fail before it is begun, and therefore let this House realise that these illusory instructions to the delegation will not in practice work. All the instructions embodied in this resolution are again the decisions of the Round Table Conference which the Government and the Settlement to which the Working Committee have agreed, have called essential and therefore there is no ghost of a chance of these proposals as embodied in the resolution being accepted at the Round Table Conference.

There is one more thing which I want this House to remember. In the last 15 months the word "Independence" has been interpreted in four ways, and the man in the street really does not know what independence really means in the language of the Indian National Congress. At Lahore what we understood by independence was complete National Independence which included economic, fiscal, financial and Military independence and every other right completely being vested in the hands of the Indian Government. Before the ink was dry on that Resolution, Mahatma came forward with his famous eleven points as meaning independence. They are all very good points. Any body may read these eleven points. But they have nothing to do with complete National Independence of this country. They are mere administrative reforms and they have nothing to do with the independence of this country. Yet it was claimed that if these were granted, the Congress would be prepared to go to the Round Table

Conference. In the month of July a new phrase called the 'substance of independence' was coined, and last week I read in the newspapers that the Mahatmaji's latest interpretation of independence is self-rule through self-control. In this resolution, before the House, to-day a fifth definition of independence has been given and even Aristotle would be unable to make up his mind which is the correct one, much less a man in the street belonging to the 350 millions who are concerned vitally in this resolution.

One word more, Sir, and I have done. So much is said about the enquiry into the public debt of India by an imperial tribunal. I want to warn the house respectfully that all the debt that has been really incurred against the interests of India, has been paid out already and very little remains of that debt. If you are under the impression that any debt which was incurred against the interests of India, still remains to be paid, you are greatly mistaken. The debt which is now outstanding is mostly what is called a productive debt. Out of nearly 1200 crores of Indian debt, about 800 crores have been invested in Railway. Then there are the Irrigation Canals, then there are the Public Works Department, the Provincial Government debts, the debts of Municipality, the Improvement Trust and the Port Trust debts, all of which are productive obligations and therefore out of the 12 hundred crores, what remains is barely 180 crores, half of which is held by the people of this country. So far as the war debt is concerned, unless I am seriously mistaken, only 20 crores remains to be paid. So if there is any chance of our recovery even of these debts which

were wrongly incurred, it would be only if the Parliament agrees to float a British loan for the purpose of refunding to the people of India what had been wrongly taken from India. And anybody who knows the Britisher knows that if he sticks to anything at all, it is to the cash and gold, and he is not the man to finance a loan for the purpose of repaying what he has wrongly taken from you. Therefore don't be misled by this high-sounding enquiry into the public debt. Nothing is to be gained by it. The greatest mischief which the British Government has done is not this debt so much as the stunting of the whole race of the 38 millions of people who have become a degenerate race, sunk in poverty and misery. That is a debt which you can never recover. Nothing will come out of this resolution. It is nearly a pretentious heroic gesture to demand the return of the money. The British are not going to do anything of the kind. In any case, those who have made the provisional settlement will not have the courage to demand a rupee back. Therefore you may pass this resolution if you will. It has no meaning. It is worse than the paper in which it is written. Not one rupee will be refunded, and so far as the Indian portion of the debt is concerned, it is held by charitable institutions, by widows, Insurance Companies and Banks, and if you, however, make up your mind to repudiate the debt, there will be a monetary crisis in this country, the like of which you have never witnessed before. Don't be misled by heroic gestures of this kind.

Lastly I request you to refuse to pass this resolution because it cannot be carried out in practice,

because it is against the Lahore Resolution, and because lastly and most important of all, the Working Committee seem to be in pathetic detachment about the British Imperialism. They seem to think that we have only to make a united demand and the British Parliament will concede it. The realities of British Imperialism are much harder, much sterner than the Working Committee seem to have realised. In Egypt where the parties are more united they have got a sort of Independence. Anybody who reads the constitution of Egypt to-day cannot help feeling that if this is independence which India is to get, it will be a most hypocritical and illusory thing, and not the real substance of independence. In Egypt to-day, according to the Statute, there is Independence, and yet Lord Lloyd was able to seal the doors of the Egyptian Parliament two years ago. Mr. Henderson, the Foreign Minister in England, refused to give real independence to Egypt, which is more united, which possess a greater right to independence and which has a more varied population; even that country is still under the domination of British Imperialism. Let there be no doubt that the delegation of the Congress cannot hope to get anything better than what the Egyptians received from the British Government, and therefore if the Working Committee do not wish to share the same fate as the Spanish Armada which went to England and returned empty-handed, it is our duty not to allow the Working Committee to fall into the pitfall so cleverly laid. With these few words I oppose this Resolution.

Attitude of Neutrality.

Swami Govindanand then made the following statement.

I believe I am voicing the sentiments of the forward party in the Indian National Congress and the large masses of the Indian people, when I state that the Gandhi-Irwin Pact has set back the clock of India's progress to Independence. To the inner mind of our nation the Truce is both disappointing and unacceptable. The left wing of, or the forward party in the Congress had at first thought of opposing the ratification of the Truce terms but we felt that it will not be in the best interests of our country nor will it conduce to the attainment or winning of independence to offer our opposition to the Gandhi-Irwin Truce by moving our counter-resolution. Since Mahatma Gandhi has immense faith in the potentialities of this pact and since he is most anxious to be given an opportunity to go to the R.T.C. in order to bring the gift of "Purna Swarajya" or what he is pleased to call the "Substance of Independence," not real Independence of course, for the enjoyment of the enthralling, oppressed and exploited people of India, we, the forward party, have deliberately come to the conclusion that we should neither oppose him, nor obstruct him nor embarrass him in any way, we wish to give him his full chance to extort the water of Liberation out of this stone of a Round Table Conference. We do not want to obstruct him for the simple reason that the blame of wrecking the R. T. C. may not fall upon us, for we have no

doubt in our mind that we cannot win our Independence from the R. T. C.

This is the first time in the lifetime of Mahatmaji when he is going to bring to India Purna Swarajya by means of negotiations at the R. T. C. It may not be said against us that we did not allow Mahatmaji to give full and free scope to his diplomatic sagacity and acumen to wrest at the Round Table Conference by means of his persuasive logic and sweet reasonableness, the substance of Independence. For this purpose he wants to go to the R. T. C. as the accredited ambassador on behalf of the whole nation.

We believe that the country was sufficiently strong to carry on the fight for another twelve months and that the time had not yet come for calling off the Civil Disobedience movement in as much as the Government had not yet been hastened into a mood to surrender to our terms. As it is the victorious Indian Army has surrendered practically unconditionally.

We assure the Working Committee that while not lowering the flag of complete Independence we shall nevertheless allow them full latitude to pursue their matter of winning Independence by means of negotiations at the R. T. C. and if they really bring Independence from it we shall examine its contents and if they are found to contain real Independence, all glory to them, we shall raise our hats and offer salutations to them for getting us Independence so cheap. But should they return empty handed, may we request them to be equally generous to us, to afford us our opportunity to win India's freedom by hand-

ing over to us the control of the Congress organisation.

The ratification of the truce terms has caused consternation and deep resentment among the youth of India, but we are trying to control them and exercising all influence with them to remain silent during the period of the truce but if and when the R. T. C. fails, we expect Mahatmaji to bless our programme of a universal strike and Satyagraha and if he cannot join us, though we do earnestly beg of him to lead the next battle also, he shall at least allow us full freedom to carry on the fight, for we too want to have our chance,

Under the circumstances I and Congressmen of my thinking have resolved to abstain from taking any part in the debate and voting on the resolutions on the Provisional Settlement and allied questions.

Mr. Meharally's Views

Sjt. Meharally from Bombay addressed as follows:—

In rising to speak on this resolution, I must express my gratitude to the President for giving me an opportunity to express my views, which I venture to believe, are also the views of a great many of the representatives of the Youth of India, who are attending this Congress. Believing that diplomatic silence after the fashion of the present-day politicians, would be unworthy both of the youth and the ideals for which the present war was waged against the British Government, I consider it my obvious duty to say plainly and unequivocally, what we young men and women feel on the subject.

I feel, like them, that the Truce is a great triumph for British diplomacy. I feel, that the victorious car of national purpose has been halted at a most inopportune moment and that the sudden damming up of the national energy at the height of its manifestation, will have very serious and grave consequences. The first fruit of this is already before us in the ghastly recrudescence of the inter-communal strife that has broken at Cawnpore. We all know that the same thing happened after the sudden cessation of the Non-Co-operation movement in 1922. The energy of the masses, once generated, must be used and directed, so long as it is available. That this energy has not been used as it demands to be used, is greatest psychological objection to the Truce. Nor do we accept the platitude that the Nation was tired of fight and wanted some breathing time to recuperate. Let there be no mistake about it. If anybody was tired of the Fight, it was not the rank and file of the Congress, it was not the masses of the people, but it was the British Government, which found its trade destroyed, its might unaviling and its international prestige completely shattered. For these, among other reasons we regard the Truce as a great national mistake.

I also wish it to be clearly understood that our fundamental objection is not so much to the term of the Truce, as to the Truce itself. The term are unsatisfactory and might have been better. But that is not our point. We do not wish to pick holes in the Gandhi-Irwin Settlement because a demand here is given up and a demand there is not pressed. Our objection is one of principle—it is against the politics of compromise.

To us, any compromise with British Imperialism is inconceivable. We do not believe in the change of heart theory, to which Mahatmaji attaches such great importance. To our mind, Imperialism has no heart to change, it has only pockets to fill, and the only argument it will understand is not the sweet reasonableness of our statesmen but the weapon of coercion, of nonviolent coercion in our case which we wielded with such success in the past year.

Finally, I wish to urge that Freedom to us, does not merely connote the substitution of a government composed of our countrymen for the present foreign occupants. Complete Independence, to us, means the ending for all time to come of this ceaseless, heart-rending game of exploitation of man by man, of the masses by the classes, of the suppressed castes, by the so-called upper classes, of the subjects by their rulers be they coloured or colourless, the most hideous expression of which is the rule of the British Imperialism in India. That is why we are opposed tooth and nail to the philosophy of adjustment. For that reason we stand not for both the Indian Princes and their subjects, not for both the landlord and the peasant, not for both the capitalist and the worker, not for both the untouchable and those who have made him so but for the subjects of the Native States against their feudal rulers, for the peasant against the landlord, for the worker against the capitalist, for the so-called untouchable against orthodoxy.

At the beginning of the fight, Mahatmaji himself told us: "Do away with the Empire with all its cruel concomitants, with Truth and Non-violence as your weapons and you will not merely have freed India from a crushing foreign domination, but you will succeed in showing the way to the exploited races of the world for freeing themselves for ever." Inspired by such ideals Young India plunged headlong into the fight, and filled the hospitals and jails of the country with its too willing and freedom intoxicated volunteers. Now at the end of the most glorious year in the history of India, we are confronted with a stern and paralysing Truce. "You will understand us if we are disappointed and chagrin is writ on our faces, for hopes were raised in us which were encouraged by Mahatmaji himself, that we would be instrumental in destroying for all time to come the forces of exploitation which holds India in their clutches."

For the moment all our hopes are shattered and our hearts are heavy with sadness, Only our revolutionary faith saves us from allowing despair. Our analysis leads us to believe, that grave disillusionment is in store for Mahatmaji and his colleagues, and that in a short time they will have to resume hostilities. The recent events point to that. The non-release of all political prisoners, the grudging and partial return of confiscated property, the blood of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, show in which direction the

wind blows. Once more the Congress will have to give the clarion call to the fighters to restart the struggle, fighters who since the declaration of the Truce have receded in the background, yielding their places to those that kept back during the war—to the Birlas, Purshottamdas Thakurdas's, Walchand Hirachands, Huseinbhai Laljis, who are now out and busy in making efforts to obtain the fruits of the suffering and sacrifices of others. So let it be. We patiently await the call to fight. "Inqilab Zindabad".

Mr. Tyab Shaikh from Karnatak was about to speak in English when he was interrupted by the the audience with cries of 'Hindi', 'Hindi'. Accordingly he addressed in Hindi.

Tayab Shakh's Speech.



जनाबे सधर, व बिगदेराने हिन्द । यह वक्त हिन्दुस्तान की पुर्ण स्वतंत्रता की लड़ाई का है यह हिन्दुस्तानकी हिस्त्री में चड़ा ही मुश्किल का वक्त हैं । इस वक्त हमारे मुल्कमें बड़े काले बादल दिखलाई देते हैं हमें याद रखना चाहिए हमने लाहोरमें क्या पास किया था. हमने लाहोरमें पिछले साल (Independence) पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता रिजोलयुशन पासकर चुके हैं जब लाहोरमें काँग्रेस हुई तो हमारे सामने यह सवाल नहीं था कि हम किस तरह कि आजादी चाहते हैं सब एक आवाजसे, सब की यह मांग थी और यहीं फैसला था कि हम तो कामील आजादिये कम नहीं लेंगे । लाहोरमें इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद के नार बुलन्द थे उस वक्त चारों तरफसे यहहि आवाज आती थी कि इन्कलाब जिन्दाबाद । कराची में पहुँचनेपर यह देख कर अप्सोस होता है कीं वह नारे सब बन्द हो गये.

He was followed by Dr. Alam, who supporting the resolution, spoke in urdu. (Vide Hindi report)

डाक्टर आलम ने प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करते हुए कहा कि सब से पहिले आप साहवान यह समझ ले कि यह तजवीज क्या है. यह है ईस्लामाय जङ्ग को इत्तला और मुकमल आम्नादी की इतला वहाँसि यत एक सिपाई के में अर्ज करूंगा कि तमझा

Mr. Sardesai from Poona opposing the resolution spoke in Hindi.

मैं आपका जादा वक्त नहीं लेगे | जनाववाली मुके जाति तौर पर समझते पर कोई ऐतबार नहीं है वह (Onesided) है गवर्नमेन्टने अब तक जो कुछ किया है वह ऐसा नहीं कि हमको इसके उपर मूतमयिन कर सके क्या हम कह सकते हैं कि वह अब कहां छोड दीये गये जिनको रिहाई के लिये शर्त मौजुद है हर्गिज नहीं | क्या सूबोंकी (Governments) ने समझौते के बाद हमारे कामेमे रेड अटकानेकी कोशिस नहीं कि | तकसीलके साथ मैं सब बाते नहीं कह सकता | अगर (Government) सूलाह चहाती थी जब सारा हिन्दोस्थान एक तरफ था और गवर्नमेन्ट एक तरफ थी तो क्या भगत सिंह वगैरे के फासी देनेसे नहीं डेड सकती थी | मूमने (Government) नेकनियंति पर कोई इतबार नहीं आता | अपने नवजवानोसे अपील की की वह कांग्रेसके प्रोग्राम पर चले और (Governments gents) के धोखेमे न आये वो यहा कोशिस करते रहते है की किसी तरह से काँग्रेस मे split हो जाए | तम खबरदार ऐसे चक्रा मे न आना | हम यह समझलें कि यह truce तो चंद महिनो की बात है तुम गांव गांव में फैल जाओ और जहां के लीये लोगो को कहे Picketing जारी रखो, झगडों मे न पडो, अगर तुम इस बातसमज गये तो स्वराज्य दूर नहीं है.

Mr. Sen Gupta's Warm Support.

Mr. Sen Gupta who was greeted with cries of "Inqulb Zindabad", supporting the resolution said:—

Mr. President and friends—It has been said by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta that the resolution moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the open session of the Congress to-night and brought before the Subjects Committee by Mahatma Gandhi himself goes against not only the letter but the spirit of the Independence resolution adopted at Lahore. My friends, Mr. Mehta suffers along with many of our countrymen from the malady of inferiority complex. Mr. Mehta, I am sorry to say, thinks according to the teachings of the British, that the Indian nation can never shake off the British domination in India. Mr. Mehta has not yet realised that the great movement which was led by Mahatma Gandhi, which was inaugurated by the Indian National Congress, during the last twelve months, has demonstrated the whole world except perhaps a few in India like Mr. Mehta, that the Congress has got stupendous power behind it, that the Congress has got the Indian masses behind it, that the Congress, today, if it will, could upset the British Government in this country in no time whatsoever. (Hear, hear). And therefore when Mr. Mehta talked about logic bringing independence, and chiding at the presence, if at all, of the Congressmen at the Round Table Conference, he forgets that it was not through talking or

through sweet reasonableness or through pressure of logic that Mahatma Gandhi proposes to get Swaraj and complete independence for India. He proposes—and he had demonstrated to you and to the rest of the world—he proposes to wrest independence for India by the strength of the masses in the civil disobedience movement, which would be restarted immediately on the refusal of the British to part with power. Sweet reasonableness, pressure of logic, debate, we do not count on these things. We count on the power of the Indian National Congress and the Indian nation itself.

My friends, we all talk about the British connection. In this independence the old British connection of the master and slave, the old British connection of imperial and imperious Britain, and the dependency of India must end. It is on that basis that the old relationship is to end. Those who are opposed to this resolution say, "Let us first cut off the British connection, and for a period let there be no connection, equal or otherwise, with Britain. If necessary, after a year or after two years or after 5 years if we think in the interests of India any alliance is necessary with any power on earth—and if it is necessary even with Britain—we will think about it; we might even have it" I again say that these people do not realise at this very moment the force of the Indian nation, the power that we have organised in ourselves, the power that we have developed in the nation. We shall need Mahatma Gandhi again. Those gentlemen do not realise the the gigantic power that the Indian nation has to-day behind Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, and it is that which will give us swaraj, and it is that which will at

one stroke break the British connection as it exists to-day. The British connection of master and slave, the British connection of exploiter and exploited, that connection ends. And there is going to be equal partnership, if at all, which can be ended at will either by India or by Britain.

My friends, don't be under the impression that Mahatma Gandhi means by this resolution that the Congress is certain to go to the Round Table Conference. Nothing of the kind. In the very second sentence of the resolution you find these words "In the event of the way being otherwise open to the Congress to be represented at any Conference, etc." You know that there may be not one but several causes arising between now and the time for joining this Conference, which might stop the Congress Delegation from joining this Conference, at all. My friends, we congressmen mean to exact the pound of flesh out of the terms of the truce, and if a single prisoner, who is covered by the terms of the truce, is not released within a reasonable time, there will be a breach of the truce on the part the British Government in India, and in the event of any other terms being broken by the Indian Government in the matter either of the concession under the terms to manufacture salt or with regard to the question of picketing and boycott of foreign cloth, if there is any breach of any term, the way is clear for us to refuse to go to the Round Table conference. Not only is it clear, but it will be our bounden duty to tell the British Government and to tell the world and to tell you, brother delegates, that there has been a clear breach of the terms of the truce on the part of the British

Government, and we cannot go to this Conference. There may be other causes confronting us before we can go to the Round Table Conference. Can you imagine the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi going to this Round Table Conference without first settling the Hindu-Muslim-Sikh controversy? It is impossible to imagine any self-respecting nation, any self-respecting leader like Mahatma Gandhi, thinking of going to the Round Table Conference without first settling the question of Hindu-Muslim dispute; without this solution he is not going there and humiliate the nation by being told by the British "We are going to settle your differences."

My friends, there are many difficulties in the way of the Congress. But we have entered into this truce, and we are not going to break the terms of the truce. We are going to be faithful to it. There are other matters which Mahatma Gandhi will explain to you. (At this stage the President rang the bell). My time is up. All I ask you to do is this. Remember that never in the history of modern India did you see a spectacle of the high and mighty representative of the British Government in India talking and negotiating and pleading on equal terms with Mahatma Gandhi, the representative of the India nation. For the first time in the history of modern India has this been done. That is the recognition of power behind the frail men, the power of the nation. And if you get independence at all through this Conference, if the Congress goes to this Conference at all, as I said before, it will not be because of our arguments. Lord Irwin did not make that

offer to the Congress in the Legislative Assembly, merely because of Mahatma Gandhi. He offered terms, he asked us to go near him to negotiate, because he knew that behind the Indian National Congress was the strength of the whole nation.

My friends, give us that strength. Give Mahatma that strength. One must go to a peace table even after a bloody war. Even after you have carried your revolutionary movement to a successful issue, what is it that you expect to do? You have to sit at a peace table with the enemy and discuss terms, whether after a non-violent or violent war. It is for you to say now that we do not want to break the truce terms and let the world judge. If the terms are broken by Government, we will not go to the Conference. We will know what to do next. If the truce terms are kept honourably by the other side, let the charge not be made against congressmen and their leader that the greatest and the most honourable of men failed in the hour of need to keep untarnished the honour and honesty of the Indian nation. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Satyamurthi's Speech.

Mr. S. Satyamurthi, who was cheered on ascending the rostrum, spoke in English as follows:—

Mr. President, Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen. I rise at this late hour to support the resolution and ask you to give your unanimous vote for it on the following grounds. I ask you to read the resolution as a whole. The resolution asks you to endorse the

Gandhi-Irwin Pact, which means that on our side the Civil Disobedience Movement is to be suspended, and on their side the Government are to cease all hostility directed against that movement. I claim that, so far as we are concerned, the Civil Disobedience Movement has been suspended. It is for the Government to complete its part of the undertaking. My first reason for asking you to accept that pact is that I consider it is an honourable truce. As Mr. Sen Gupta said, for the first time in the history of the British occupation of India, the Congress has been treated by the Government of India on absolutely equal terms. And they have also promised to restore the *status quo ante*. I want that the Government should fulfil, in letter and in spirit, the undertaking given by the Viceroy in his Chelmsford Club speech the other day that the Government will do everything in their power to honour and promote the spirit of the agreement. They can best do it by responding to Mahatma Gandhi's appeal in the interview which he gave to journalists, after the truce was signed, wherein he asked the Police officers and Civil servants to remember that they are the servants and not the masters of the Indian nation.

Then, Sir there is one other matter, on which there has been great feeling expressed in the speeches against the resolution. It is the question of what are called the "safeguards." I am satisfied that the Viceroy in his Chelmsford Club speech, has promised the Congress and the country that no safeguards need be accepted by us unless [they are proved to be in the interests of

India. If those safeguards are also in the interests of Great Britain, we shall not grumble. But we shall accept no safeguard-and if the Viceroy's speech is to be accepted by the British Government, as I hope it will be-they cannot in fairness ask us to accept a single safeguard which cannot, in the words of the resolution, be "demonstrably necessary in the interests of India."

So far as complete independence is concerned, on which Mr. Jamnadas Mehta laid great stress, I want to draw your attention to the words in the resolution, which ask the delegation to the Round Table Conference to press for and obtain the right to either party to end the partnership at will. Dominion status with the right to separate at any time is the same thing as Independence so far as practical purposes are concerned.

The third point that I want to make is this. This delegation does not go with a *carte blanche*. It goes with a definite direction from the Indian National Congress, that it shall ask for and obtain control over the defence forces. This means control over the army expenditure, and one of Mahatma Gandhi's eleven points is that the army expenditure should be immediately halved. No Swaraj Government can carry on for three months, which spends 55 crores over its army. No Swaraj is worth any thing, which means that you have got to defend this country by a mercenary army on that colossal scale. Then the Delegation shall press for and obtain control over external affairs. India can no longer tolerate the position that all England's enemies are India's enemies, that all England's friends are India's friends. We will make our own alliances and our own

friendships. Last but not least, this Delegation is to ask for and obtain control over finance, fiscal and economic policy. And I am certain and that the Congress Delegation will press for and obtain this for us, namely, that a free India will be entitled to pursue any industrial, economic or fiscal policy, which it considers to be in the interests of this country, even though it may mean some discrimination against non-nationals. That is as much as we should get.

I quite recognise, Sir, that on the question of adjustments there is a *carte blanche* given to this Delegation. I want the Congress to trust that Delegation, because they cannot accept any adjustments, unless they are demonstrably necessary in the interests of India. And I ask you to do this because of the history of Mahatma Gandhi. This is the fourth time that the British Government in India have seen fit to negotiate with him. First in 1922 Lord Reading wanted to deal with him. The year before last, Lord Irwin wanted to negotiate with him. Then came Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar to negotiate. On all these occasions, he remained adamant. Now if Mahatma Gandhi has agreed to negotiate, there must be good reason for it, and we can well trust him, in the absolute certainty that he is not going to surrender India's position, by one jot or tittle.

There are just one or two matters on which the Congress and myself would be glad to hear Mahatma Gandhi. What is the position of the Indian States in the new federation? If I know Mahatma Gandhi's mind at all, I venture to say that the interests of the subjects of the Indian States are absolutely safe in his hands. I also

hope that he will give some inkling of the nature of the communal settlement we should arrive at before we go to the Round Table Conference. And in any case, sir, I want to conclude by saying that the position which those of us who may think that we may not get what we want, if he goes to the Conference, is summed up in my friend, Babu Subash Chandra Bose's statement to the Subjects Committee meeting two days ago. I want to say, Sir, that if the settlement is accepted by the Congress and the country, it is not because it is satisfactory or meets our demands, but because the country and the Congress have absolute faith in the Mahatma's leadership, and want to stand by him and to send him to the Round Table Conference as the representative of the Indian people yearning for freedom. As a wise Englishman said recently, if to-day there is anyone standing between India and anarchy, it is Mahatma Gandhi. If Great Britain does not settle with Mahatma Gandhi, then there is no power on earth which will stand between India and anarchy. I ask you, therefore knowing that we may fail but hoping that we may succeed, to send him on our behalf to England. If he returns with what we want, all of us will be happy. If he returns without getting what he and others are yearning to get, I know he will lead the struggle with redoubled vigour, and, I hope, God willing, to complete victory for India, which will then be a completely free India.

One word more and I have done. We have a right to say that Great Britain has come down to-day to deal with Mahatma Gandhi on absolutely equal terms. It is not because there has been a sudden change of heart on her part. Great Britain now realises fully that we are awake,

that we mean business. Let us give Britain a chance to fulfil her word. If we break any, if we sulk, if we refuse to play our part, if we do not lay our cards on the table, world opinion which is on our side to-day, may be against us. We shall do nothing which will offend world-opinion. We want to place our cards on the table. We have no quarrel with the outside world. If Great Britain concedes our demands, all will be well. But if Great Britain does not concede our just demands, world opinion will be ranged on our side.

Secondly, I ask you to have faith in ourselves. We have shown during the last twelve months that we can give battle to the foreign bureaucracy. It is the part of a coward to say and feel that we have no strength, that we are weak, that it is no use going to the Round Table Conference. The brave man, knowing his strength, is willing to negotiate, and to re-start the battle, when negotiations fail. Last, but not least, we owe it to ourselves and Mahatma Gandhi that we should try our best to be faithful to the settlement. It is only a truce. The final peace is yet to come. Let us go then to the Round Table Conference. If we get what we want, we shall accept it. Meantime, we have enough work to do, and I ask you to concentrate upon it. I hope that every delegate with open eyes will vote for the resolution, so that when Mahatma Gandhi walks in the streets of London, he will walk as the embodied soul of India yearning for freedom. (Cheers).

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan (popularly known as the 'Gandhi of the Frontier') then spoke in Hindi further supporting the resolution.

(Vide Hindi Version)

Khan Abdul Gafar Khan's Speech.

बहनों भाईयो । तुमने यहाँ इस रेजुलेशन के मुताबिक बहुत सी तकरीरें सुनी हैं मैं सो रहा था जब के मेरे पास यह खबर पहुँची कि मुझे सदर साहब बुलाते हैं । मैं आपको खिदमत में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं तो एक सिवाही हूँ जो खिदमत बतलादी जायगी (तामील) करूँगा यह अर्ज का देना चाहता हूँ कि हम अफगानों के महात्मा जी के उपर पूरा भरोसा है जिस महात्मा ने हमारे अंदर एक नई जिंदगी पैदा कर दी है क्या हम उसके खिलाफ जायेंगे । इस तहरीक से जितना हम वदमसीबों को पहुँचा है इतना शायद ही कि सी को पहुँचा हो । इस तहरीक ने हम अफगानों को भाई बना दिया । हुन्बल बतनी का जुजबा पैदा कर दिया क्या यह ही सकल है कि हम इन अहसानात का भूल जायें अफसोस यह है कि हमारे खिलाफ हुकूमत ने गलत propoganda कर रक्खा है मैं यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम अफगान इस गुलामी से तंग आगये हैं । हम जानते हैं कि गुलामी कितनी बुरी चीज होती है । किसी कौम । आजादी नहीं मिल सकती जबतक कि वह कौम उसकी किमत न दे । वह क्या है नौजवानों का खून । हमारे नौजवानों ने कहा था कि महात्मा जी को पेगाम पहुँचा देना कि हम उनके तरीके पर जंग करने को तैयार हैं । हम आजादि के जंग

में कभी भी महात्मा जी का साथ नहीं छोड़ेगे जब तक प्यारा
वतन आजाद न हो तब तक हम लड़ते रहेंगे। दूसरी बात
यह है की एक दफा हम आजाद tribes में गये थे हमने
अफरीदियों से कहा कि तुमतो छोड़ी सी कौम हो तुम्हें
अंग्रेज गुलाम नहीं बनासके गो के उन्होंने इतनी कोशिश
की उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे मुल्क का कोयदा है कि जिस
वक्त दुश्मन सामने होता है तो हम फेसला करले ते है कि
हम एक झाड के निचे खडे हो जाए और हम पेक झाड के
नीचे खडे होकर लड़ते हैं। हिंदुस्तान में हिन्दु, सिक्ख, पारसी
सब आजाद होना चाहते हैं। सब का फर्ज है कि एक दूसरे
का ब्यार करे और उन अफरीदियों की तरह एक झाड तले
होकर दुश्मन का मुकाबला करें। फिर दुनिया में कोई ताकत
नहीं जो हमे आजाद होने से रोक सके.

Mahatma Gandhi, who was cheered to the echo on mounting the rostrum, supporting the resolution first spoke in Hindi and then addressed the session in English as follows:—

बहिने और भाईयों ! अब वक्त बहुत हो गया मैं चाहता था इतनी वक्तस देने के बाद कुछ न कहूं लेकिन न हो सका । मैं समझ गया था कि आप कुछ न कुछ सुनना चाहेंगे । मैं एक बात साफ कर दूं जो हमारे नौजवान भाई व चंद बहिने और थोड़े से भाई जिनके दिल में रंज पहुंचा है कि समझौता ठीक नहीं उनके लिए मेरे दिल में बहुत मुहब्बत की याद है । मैं उनके रंज को पहचान सकता हूं इस लिए उनके पुरा हक है कि वहमेरी मुखलफत कर सकते हैं । मुझे गुस्सा पैदा नहीं होता उनके पेसेह शब्द लाने का और गुस्सा करने का हक हैं । R. T. C. के बारे में बहुत पतराज किये हैं वह यह कहते आए हैं कि R. T. C. से कुछ नहीं मिलता ऐसा कौन कहता है मैं नहीं कहता कि मिल जायगा कोई इस में जादू नहीं कि R. T. C. का पख बदल जायगा । मैं कोई ऐसा वचन नहीं देना चाहता कि पूर्ण आजादी मिल जायगी । मेरे दिल में तो आजाता है कि हम वहां जा कर क्या मांगने वाले हैं । मेरे दिह में शक आजाता है कि हम कुछ भी वहां से पायेंगे । जिस को हम

हम धमन मार्ग मानते हैं अगर उसे शक के मारे न करे तो पाप करते हैं, गुनाह करते हैं यह मानले कि सत्याग्रह का कानून है कि जिनसे सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं उस दुश्मन को भी मोहबत करके जीतले। सत्याग्रही के दिल में यह नहीं होता कि उसके दिल में जहर भरी हो। हमने तो प्रतिज्ञा की है कि हम शान्ति से लड़ेंगे जिसके साथ हमने सत्याग्रह किया है उसके साथ समझौता करने में कोई हर्ज नहीं जब निमंत्रण मिला के आओ बात करो, बात भी म कर वहां तक ठीक है मुझसे पसाही जब यी कहा था कि जब मैं जेलमें था फिर रिहाई मिल गई मैंने एक छोटा सा खत भी लिखा था बात चीत हुई समजो ते में हमारे लिये कोई शर्म की बात नहीं है ऐसी बात नहीं है यह बता देना चाहता हूं कि हमारा धर्म हो गया है कि जब रिहाई दी तो हमने यह किया। अगर हम रिहाई होने पर कुछ पेना कदम न उठाते तो फिर जेलमें चले जाते तो निदामत उठाते। स्वामी गोविन्दानन्द ने कहा कि हम एक वर्ष ओर लड़नेको तैयार हैं मैं कहता हूं कि हम एक या २० वर्ष तक तैयार हैं कोई यह गुमान न करे कि हमने ऐसा महसूस कर लिया था कि हम थक गये हैं ऐसा करले सत्याग्रही तो एक ही लड़ाई कर सकता है हम थक गये इस लिये समझौता करले ऐसा नहीं। हम अब भी नहीं कहते कि समझौता करेंगे जबतक हममें शक्ति है हम तैयार हैं जब कोई कहता है कि आओ

बात चीत करो तो क्या कहें कि नहीं हम बात चीत नहीं
 करते हम इस वक्त ऐसा न करते तो हमारे ऊपर ठीक न था
 उन के साथ हमारी बातें हो गई मैं आपको साफ कहेता हूँ
 कि अगर आप प्रस्ताव को पास कर देंगे तो हम सम्पूर्ण
 स्वराज्य लेकर आयेंगे ऐसा हम नहीं कहते लेकिन ऐसा
 जरूर कहते हैं कि गुलामी लेकर नहीं आयेंगे। आप केदीयो
 में है जिसके सरदार बनाना चाहते हो। आप वकिंग
 कमेटीको हटा सकते हो यह न समझें कि यह महात्मा बीचमें
 पडा हैं इस लिये मानलो अगर तुम्हारे १५ आदमियों ने
 कोई बेवफाई कीतो आप उन्हें कह सकते हैं अगर आप कहें
 कि तुम नहीं चाहिये तो हम तो तुम्हारे सेवक हैं हमारा
 यह फर्ज होगा कि इस्तीफा दे देंगे। दूसरों को आप रक्खे
 लडाईं जारी रक्खे आपका दुनिया कुछ नहीं कह सकती
 आप अगर यह समझें कि महात्मा नहीं रहेगा तो लडाईं

कैसे लड़े यह कमजोरी है। एक वच्चा भी लड़ाई लड़ सकता है आपने यह करके भी दिखाया है। जब बड़े २ नेता जेलों भरादिये गये तो दूसरे नेता पैदा होगये रत्नीयों आपकी Dictator बनीं। आपके सामने ऐसा सामान पडा है तो आपका महात्मा जी कीक्या दरकार। जापने जो मुझे पद दिया है वह विद्वता के कारण नही से काजों के लिये आप हमें फेरुदे तो आपकी कोई शिकायत नहीं मैं तो नौजवानों से अदब से कहना चाहता हूं कि गान्धीने लडाईं शुरु की वह कहता है कि समझौता अच्छा है उसे मानले।

अगर Delegation कुछ न लेकर आयातो अच्छा है ऐसा कुछ मिल गयातो अच्छा हैं पहिले बाततो यह है कि समझौते पर कायम किया जाय. दूसरी बात कहनी है कि अब्बदुल-गफारखाने सीधी सीधी बातें कहीं मैं सुन कर बहुत खुश हुआ।

उनका सरदार पटेल ने बुलाया। मैं पठानों में रहा हूँ मैं उनका दक्षिण अफ्रीका से जानता हूँ। उनका स्वभाव कैसा है मैं जानता हूँ। जिन लोगों ने ठान लिया कि कांग्रेस के साथ रहेंगे उनको इससे फायदा हुआ मैं यह इतमिनान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे हाथों से आजादी कम होजायगी यह मुमकिन नहीं। मैंने कोशीशकी कि वहाँ चला जाऊँ। मुझे मौका नहीं मिला। सरहद्दी सूबेके लिए तो मैंने कुछ किया है अफ्रीकी भाइयों के लिए कुछ नहीं किया मुझे दुख है मैं लाचार हूँ उनका दर्द मिटाने के लिए। स्वराज्य लेकर आजाप तो उनका दर्द मिटा सकते हैं। हमारी ताकत नहीं कि उन पर होते हुए अत्याचारों को बचा सकें। उन्हे कुछ हम पर पेटवार है रुमझों कि हिन्दुस्तान को उनसे कोई झगडा नहीं है। हर एक अफगान के दिल में मुहब्बत पैदा हो जायगी बिना पैसों का सिपाही पैदा होगा। सरहद्द पर से कुछ डर नहीं रहेगा। कानपुर वगैरे में क़ितनी किसकी गलती हो गई हैं मैं नहीं जाना हूँ यह जानता हूँ वह प्रायश्चित करें वह इस झगडे को शान्त करा दें। मैं अब दो शब्द अंग्रेजी में

भी बोल हूँ सरदार पटेल के पास पत्र आये हैं कि मैं अंग्रेजी में बोलूँ। मुझे अंग्रेजी में बोलते हुए लज्जासी मालूम होती है जब अंग्रेजों से मिलता हूँ तो अंग्रेजी खूब बोल लेता हूँ लेकिन ऐसे समय में अंग्रेजी बोलना मुझे अच्छा नहीं मालूम होता।

प्रधान—क्या आप इस पर और तकरीरे सुनना चाहते हैं। (आवाजे आई नहीं) तो जो इसके साथ दो हाथ उठावे प्रस्ताव मंजूर हुआ। इस कांग्रेस फिर ६½ बजे मिलेगी।



Mahatma Gandhi's speech in English

Mahatma Gandhi, who was cheered to the echo, mounting the rostrum, supporting the resolution, first spoke in Hindi and then addressed the session in English as follows:—

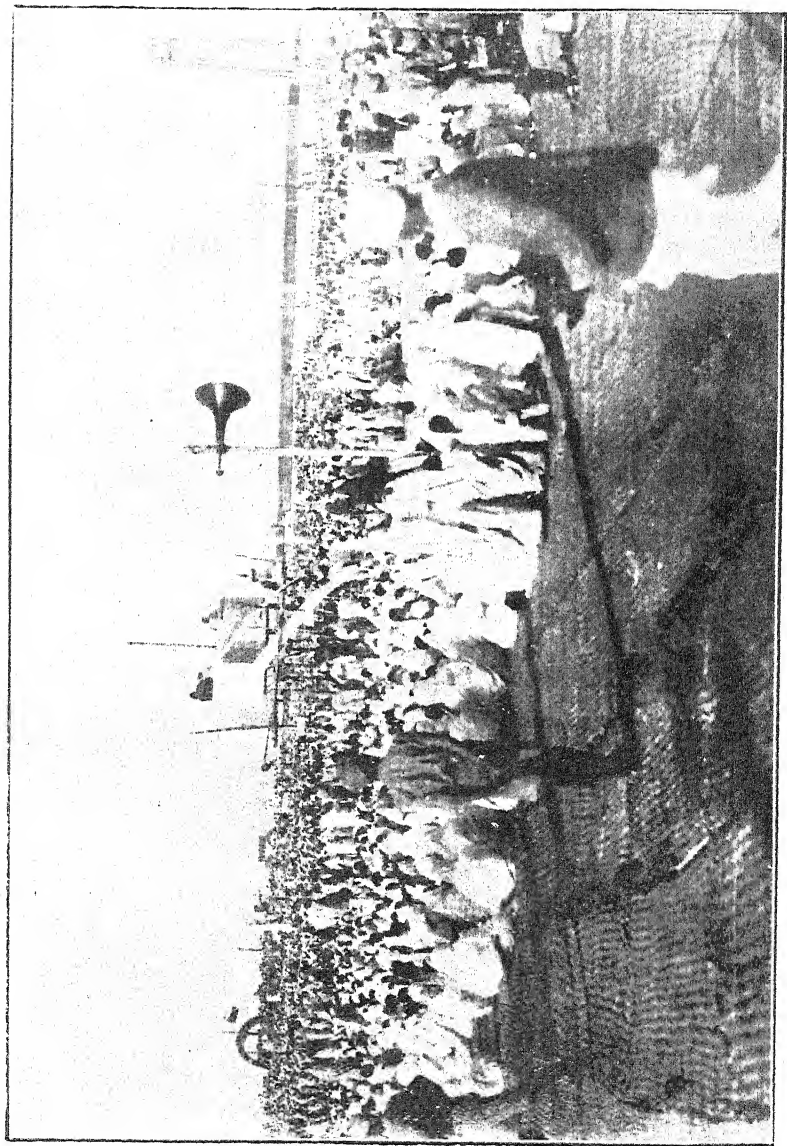
Several Andhra friends have given a letter to Sardar Vallabha Bhai, and I know it is their wish that I should say a few words in English. But the time is moving fast. I must be brief.

I do not wish to cover the same ground that has been covered by several speakers. But I will say one or two words with reference to what has been left out in the resolution before you. One thing that has been left out is the federation. What is the meaning of the word "federation"? Is it a federation between the princes or the states on the one hand and the provinces put together on the other. What are the conditions under which that federation is to take place? We do not know these things altogether. The princes have taken up this position, namely, that there shall be no intervention on the part of the federal government in their internal affairs. All I have suggested in this connection is that they should acknowledge that the fundamental rights of the people of the States should be the same as those of the citizens in what is called British India. If those rights are guaranteed under the federal constitution, then there should be naturally some federal

institution to protect those rights, i. e. a federal supreme court or whatever you might like to call it, to whom an appeal would lie. I hope the princes will of their own accord, recognise these two things. Then there should be representation for the people of the states. It would be somewhat of a derogation from the absolute sovereignty which the princes enjoy, to do this. But if they would be part of a federation in which the larger part is to be governed by a spirit of democracy, it is up to them voluntarily to part with some of their power.

The second question is in connection with the Hindu-Muslim pact. Supposing that we do not arrive at any settlement what-so-ever over this very delicate matter, what is to be the position of the Congress? So far as I can see at the present moment, it will be useless for the Congress delegation to take part in the Conference, if we cannot possibly arrive at a proper communal solution. But I am not able just now to give you my final decision or final opinion. I do not know. Many things may happen, which may make it necessary or highly desirable that the Congress delegation should take part in the Conference. But that is for the future really to decide.

I warn the English speaking people that next year they would not call upon a single speaker to speak in English. I hope that by next year they will have learned sufficient Hindustani to be able to follow the proceedings and really be able to speak in Hindustani also. Day after day and year after year we ourselves have accustomed the people to consider Hindustani as the common language for inter-provincial



intercourse. Now it is too late to retrace our steps and habituate vast audiences to English.

I would say one thing more. You are not bound to accept the resolution, because there is a Mahatma behind it, or because there is the Working Committee behind it. You are not bound, if this Settlement does not commend itself to you, to accept the resolution. On the contrary, you are in duty bound, if this settlement cannot commend itself to you, to reject it summarily. If the Congress rejects the settlement summarily, nothing can possibly be said against the Congress. The Congress is the paramount authority. The Working Committee is its creature. The action taken by the Working Committee, or taken by myself, may not commend itself to you. There should be, therefore, no question of toleration or patronage. It is open to everyone of you, to every section here, to reject this resolution and to repudiate the settlement if you wish to. But if you endorse the settlement, then it is also your duty actively to support it, carry out all its terms faithfully and honourably and do the various things which are set before you in the resolution, so that you daily increase the power of the Congress and make it possible for its delegation to vindicate its position of the Congress and possibly to bring the very thing for which you have suffered for the last twelve months.

One thing more. If this delegation goes as far as the Conference, it does not mean that the delegation will bring in its pocket poorna swaraj. If it does not bring poorna swaraj, it does not mean that it returns humiliated. Nothing of the kind. All that we expect

to be able to do is to go and tell the British people, the British Ministers, what we want, and if we do not get what the Congress expects the delegation to accept within the terms of the resolution, we are bound to return empty-handed and receive compliments from you, and not curses. But you will be entitled to give us curses if we return having sold the interests of the country. That is what you have a perfect right to do. But it will not be proper for you to say, "You were not able to fulfil your promises." No promise has ever been made. No promise is being made now that if the deputation goes to the Conference, whether here or in England, or enter upon further negotiations, that delegation is going to bring poorna swaraj. Poorna swaraj will come when it does come, when the full authority of the Congress has been manifested, and not a minute before. All that I promise faithfully to you on my own behalf and on behalf of any delegation that you might wish to send with me is that we shall not be disloyal to the Congress in any shape or form. (*Cheers*)

After Mahatma Gandhi's speech the closure was applied and the resolution being put to vote, was declared carried by a large majority.

The Session was adjourned at 10-30 p. m. to Wednesday, 31st March.

Proceedings of the Indian National Congress

31ST MARCH 1931.

The proceedings of the last day of the 45th Session of the Congress commenced at 6. P. M. in the Motilal Pandai, Harchandrai Vishindas Nagar, Karachi on Tuesday the 31st March under the Presidency of Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

The proceedings commenced with the welcome songs as usual.

The following resolutions moved from the Chair were passed unanimously.

Congratulations to Civil Resisters.

RESOLUTION NO. 6. "This Congress congratulates all those who underwent great sufferings during the late Civil Disobedience campaign whether through imprisonment, shooting, bayonet or lathi charges, emigration from their homes and confiscation of property. The Congress more especially congratulates the women of India who rose in their thousands, assisted the nation in its struggle for freedom and respectfully assures them that no constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that discriminates against the sex in the matter of franchise."

Total Prohibition.

RESOLUTION NO. 7. This Congress notes with satisfaction the visible progress of the nation towards

total prohibition during the past 12 months and calls upon all Congress organisations to continue the anti-drink and drugs campaign with renewed vigour and hopes that the women of the country will redouble their efforts in weaning the drunkard and drug addict from a habit that ruins both body and soul and desolates happy homes".

Khadar Propaganda; Boycott of Foreign Cloth and Village uplift.

RESOLUTION NO. 8. "Experience gained during the past ten years through work in hundreds of villages has made it abundantly clear that the deepening poverty of the masses is due, among other things, to unemployment for want of a supplementary industry during leisure hours and that only the spinning wheels supply that want on a universal scale. It has been further observed that the people having given up the wheel and consequently Khaddar; they buy foreign cloth or cloth made in indigenous mills thus causing a double drain from the villages—the drain in the shape of loss of fruits of labour and price of cloth. This double drain can be avoided only by the exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn and substitution thereof by Khaddar, the indigenous mills supplementing khaddar only so far as it may be necessary. This Congress therefore appeals to the public to refrain from the purchase of foreign cloth and to the dealers in foreign cloth and yarn to give up a trade that seriously injures the interests of the millions of villagers.

This congress further calls upon all Congress organisations and allied bodies to intensify the foreign

cloth boycott by increasing khadi propoganda.

This congress appeals to the States to associate themselves with this constructive effort and prevent the entry of foreign cloth and foreign yarn into their territories.

This congress also appeals to the owners of indigenous mills to assist the great constructive and economic movement by

1. Giving their moral support to the supplementary village industry of hand-spinning by themselves using handspun :

2. By ceasing to manufacture cloth that may in any way compete with Khaddar and to that end co-operating with the effort of the all India Spinners' Association.

3. By keeping down the prices of their manufactures to the lowest possible limit.

4. By refraining from using foreign yarn, silk or artificial silk in their manufacture.

5. By exchanging the existing stock of the foreign piecegoods merchants for Swadeshi cloth and thus helping to convert their business into Swadeshi and by re-exporting the former; and,

6. By raising the status of the mill workers and making them feel that they are co-sharers with them as well in prosperity as in adversity. This Congress suggests to the great foreign houses that they will help international brotherhood and revolutionise commercial

ethics if they will take the first step by recognising and the necessity of the economic boycott by India of foreign cloth and themselves denying themselves a foreign trade that had admittedly hurt the economic wellbeing of India's masses and diverting their attention to enterprises more in keeping with the wants of the nations other than their own."

Miserable Plight of Indians in South Africa.

RESOLUTION NO. 9. "This Congress views with alarm the trend of events in South Africa omit East Africa regarding the position of Indian settlers in those countries. The contemplated legislation in South Africa is in contravention of promises and in some respects constitutes an attack even on legal rights. This Congress appeals to the Governments concerned to mete out to the Indian Settlers the same measure of justice that they would elaim for their nationals in a free India. This Congress tenders its thanks to Deenabhandhu Andrews and Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru for their selfless labours on behalf of the settlers overseas."

N. W. F. Province.

RESOLUTION NO. 10. "In as much as propaganda is said to be going on in the Frontier provinces that the Congress does not mean well by them and it is desirable that the Congress should take steps to dispel this suspicion, this Congress hereby places on record its opinion that in any constitutional scheme the N. W. F. Provinces shall have the same form of Government as the other Provinces in India."

Peaceful Picketing.

RESOLUTION NO. 12. "This Congress notes with Gratification the great Success that has so far attended the boycott of foreign cloth and of the sales of intoxicating drugs and drink and calls upon the Congress organisations not to relax their efforts in the matter of peaceful picketing provided that the picketing shall be in strict accord with the terms of the settlement between the Government and Congress in this behalf."

Communal Riots in U. P.

RESOLUTION NO. 14. "This Congress regards the communal riots of Benares, Mirzapur, Agra, Cawnpore and other places as highly injurious to the movement for India's freedom and strongly condemns those who are responsible for causing or provoking such riots or disseminating false rumours which promote such riots and considers their peace-destroying activities deserving of the strongest censure. This Congress also deeply deplores the murders of citizens especially of women, and children and sincerely sympathises with the living victims of the savagery and with the families of the dead."

Right of the People of Burma.

RESOLUTION NO. 11. BURMA. Moved Mr. Maung Manug Ji of Burma. "This Congress recognises the people of Burma to claim Separation from India and to establish an independent Burman state or to remain an autonomous partner in a free India with a right of Separation at any time they may desire to exercise it.

The Congress however condemns the endeavour of the British Government to force separation of Burma without giving adequate opportunity to the Burmese people to express their views and against the declared wishes of the elected representatives. This endeavour seems to be deliberately engineered to perpetuate British Domination there, so as to make Burma together with Singapore by reason of the presence of oil and their strategic positions, strongholds of imperialism in Eastern Asia. The Congress is strongly opposed to any such policy which would result in Burma being kept as a British dependency and her resources exploited for British imperialist purposes and would also be a menace to a free India as well as to the other nations of the East. The Congress urges that the extraordinary powers given to the Government of Burma be withdrawn and the declaration by the Government that representative and important organisations of Burmese national opinion are illegal be also withdrawn so that normal conditions be restored and the future of Burma may be discussed by her people without hindrance in a peaceful atmosphere and the will of the Burmese people may prevail."

In moving the above Resolution, Mr. Maung Manug Ji spoke as under :—

Mr. President, fellow delegates, Ladies and gentlemen,

I cannot but feel happy on this occasion when we are meeting under a happier auspices that may usher in a new dawn pregnant with possibilities for the peace and prosperity of our people. And yet in my jubilant mood I am not totally free from the apprehensions which

come over a man who has been entrusted with the task of a great political mission that can only be fulfilled by mutual understanding and co-operation. But I have no doubt in my mind that the heart of India is sound and sincere and that whatever little differences there may be amongst the various schools of Political thought, we are, in reality, inspired by only one dominant desire to obtain increasing opportunities for our people to grow to the full height of their stature in the sphere of politics, of industry and of religion. I am, on this occasion reminded of the warm welcome the Madras Congress gave to my Resolution that sought to promote Indo-Burmese Entente in all possible ways and I was indeed gratified to find that my humble efforts were rewarded by the visits of Gandhiji and other leaders whose personal contact with my countrymen made the friendship of the two Nations all the more united for mutual advantages. I feel certain that India is in full sympathy with the aspirations of my people and that she will even make sacrifices to see a people, akin to her in religion and culture, enjoy the full benefit of self-rule. I will therefore move with your permission this resolution that may offer an avenue for the greater happiness and contentment of India and Burma.

I have moved a resolution which is probably of the utmost importance at this particular juncture when the question of political severance of Burma from India is engaging the attention of those who are responsible for the political advancement of India from Burma. I submit in all seriousness that this

momentous question should be fully considered from every point of view before allowing ourselves to be swayed and dominated by pre-meditated conclusions. I say this question of separation should be considered again because the growing National spirit in Burma does not aspire to be content with third-rate Political Freedom which will offer not even the semblance of Home rule. The most important Political Parties in Burma are against separation, and I can safely say that 99% of the people of Burma are in no sympathy with the movement that agitates for separation. Who is the man that says that Burma Legislative Council represents the people of Burma? Is that logic, when we know that only 3.3% of the population is enfranchised and that this therefore cuts out the entire peasant and working class population from the legitimate expressions of their desires and aspirations? I say that only 18% of the total limited electorate voted at the last general election and I can therefor say with truth that less than 0.75% of the Burmese population actually voted on that occasion. Even within the Legislative Council hardly any responsible member wants separation *sans Phrase*. They all want a guarantee of Dominion Status first. Neither they nor the people of Burma had an opportunity of considering the place of Burma in the Indian Federation. The majority of the population of Burma does not sympathise with that resolution hurriedly passed by the Burma Legislative Council some time ago with a view to seeking the political severance of Burma from India. The four Burmese delegates who attended the London Round Table Conference were selected by Government of Burma only from that narrow circle in

the Burma Legislative Council consisting of those who are for separation. I say that there are parties which are opposed to separation even in the Burma Legislative Council, but they were ignored when the delegates were selected for fear of giving an expression to the true aspirations of the people of Burma at the London Round Table Conference, as Tharawady U Pa, M.L.C. President, Home-rule party, in his telegram to His Excellency the Viceroy says "unfortunately however all your Burma delegates were invited by Government from only that section of non-official opinion in the Local Legislative Council that had expressed themselves in favour of separation while the anti-separation in the Council and the non-co-operating political organisations outside the Council representing 99% of the masses of the population of Burma who are opposed to separation were totally excluded from the London Conference. British Government's acceptance of the principle of Separation is in contravention of the Prime Minister's promise to the full committee of the conference that announcement accepting the principle of separation of Burma would not be made without discussion and decision by the conference upon this issue at its plenary session." Look for a moment at the properly organised political bodies outside the Burma Legislative Council. The three general councils of Burmese Associations which are the back-bones of independent and national public opinion in Burma are in no sympathy with the movement for separation. U. Chit Hlaing, President of one of them, insists upon Burma being represented at the next conference in India particularly because an opportunity has now arisen to rectify the earlier inequitable and one-

sided representation of the microscopic minority of separationists.

Not only is secular public opinion opposed to separation but our revered sanghas are also totally opposed to separation from India, so much so that they have sent a deputation of our phoongies led by the Revd. U. Ottama to request your help to keep Burma united with India. Indeed, practically the whole of Burma is opposed to separation and desires that Burma should be an autonomous and component part of the future federal commonwealth of India.

This proposal of federation of the United States and the Provinces of India has tremendously altered the relative values of political institutions in the country. Under federation, all the component and autonomous provinces, including Burma, will have a separate entity of a type so superior to the old idea of provincial autonomy under the Central Government as is bound to provide for such independence of each other and of even the Federal Government, as is necessary to give separate political existence to the provinces. Not only that, but Federation provides for participation in that wide union which provides for common action in fields which if Burma is separated will for ever be lost to my country. Under the proposed scheme of Federation, the people of Burma, through ministers chosen in consultation with the political representatives of the people will be in charge of all departments of Government not merely administrative, but of those well-known nation-building departments upon which the future

progress of the province depends. Self-realisation in its completest form will be possible, as instruments of the necessary Legislative Assembly will be available to the people of Burma free from the official control which has stood in the way of unhampered progress. But federation will provide for Burma that which separation can never give, viz., participation through the Federal commonwealth into all those Imperial and International problems with which not merely the future of Burma or of India but of the world in general, is intimately associated. One cannot forget that the commonwealth of India will have an Imperial and International status derived from the fact that India is an original member of the League of Nations. That privilege I fear, will not be bestowed in Burma outside the commonwealth. It is only as an autonomous and component part of the Indian Federation that she can enjoy it and the immense benefits which flow from the League of Nations and the allied organisations of the International Labour Conference.

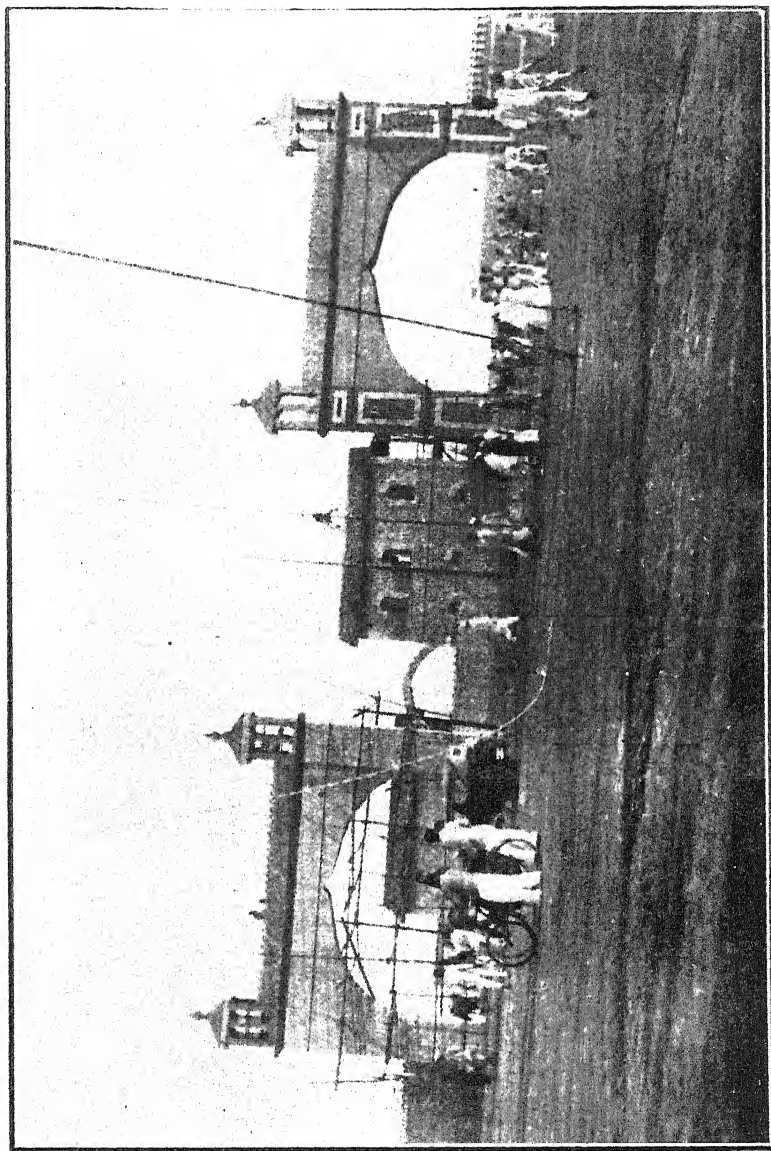
The question of separation has never been referred to the people of Burma and we cannot therefore say that separation is the common wish of the people merely because a fraction of the 14 millions of people are for it.

We are told that the principle of separation has been accepted by the London Round Table Conference. That is wholly incorrect. The Conference was not even provided with an opportunity of discussing the report of the Burma Government committee—an opportunity that was promised by the Prime Minister himself. Yet a few days after the close of the conference, the Prime

Minister announced the acceptance by British Government of the principle of separation of Burma from India. Sir, this acceptance is the highest point of effrontery with which the Government has regarded the separation problem. Without consulting and in utter contempt of public opinion, the Government of Burma recommended separation, the Government of India in total ignorance and indifference of Burmese political opinion, endorsed the recommendation and the Prime Minister, though he had promised the Round Table Conference an opportunity of discussing this problem, has since accepted the principle of separation of Burma from India. But how can that be when there is a great wave of public indignation against separation? I have no doubt the Government of Burma has recommended Separation against the wishes of people of Burma to throw their nation's lot along with the political destiny of India. I say that the principle of Separation cannot therefore be accepted when 99 p. c. of the people are opposed to severance of Burma from India politically. We must reconsider the question at the next Round Table Conference along with the views of all the Political schools which had been barred from entering the last Round Table Conference by the Government of Burma. We cannot afford to consider this serious question lightly, for who knows what disaster may befall India and Burma by rushing into separation without proper consideration of its consequences. I make bold to say that immediate separation will be a great calamity to India as well as to Burma and if this last effort is allowed to slip before the Principle of Separation is an accepted fact we may not once again get another opportunity to link up

the two great countries as autonomous and component parts of the future federal commonwealth of India. This immense responsibility rests with the Congress, for we find within its fold men who have the power to avert this coming calamity and should they neglect to do their duty towards Burma for want of facts, then I say that I have already placed the facts which prove that the agitation for the separation of Burma is only the work of a handful of men. There is no political party in India or Burma that will ever oppose separation if the severance of the old type will bring Dominion Status to Burma, but we know not into what form of Government, Burma will be driven after separation. We can hardly be credited with wisdom and foresight if we insist as some seem to be doing, on taking a plunge into the dark unknown with the faint hope of finding a remedy for the solution of our ills. Separation without Dominion Status will be a mockery and I would certainly consider that as an unworthy exchange which gives Burma no reward for the risks she incurs as an isolated Burma exposed to the exploitations of the dominant races. I say let Parliament promise to confer Dominion Home-rule on Burma after separation and this Congress, I for one, believe, will not oppose but rather rejoice in the contentment of my people and indeed Gandhiji will be the first man to offer congratulations to Burma. But Parliament will make no promise what-so-ever and can we not therefore gather what is the psychology of this hesitation? I make bold to say that many of the political parties in Burma have realised the

diplomacy of Parliament behind this agitation and now most of the serious-minded people in Burma are favourably impressed with this scheme of federal commonwealth of India. I know that Burma left to herself will willingly enter the Federation of India as an autonomous and component part. Should I not therefore expect that the Congress will make all efforts to strengthen the tie of friendship between those two ancient countries by including Burma within the federal commonwealth of India? I even venture to suggest that the congress should be so liberal as to include representatives of Burma in its selection for the delegates to the next Round Table Conference. I do not think I am asking too much of the Congress. On the other hand I consider that the inclusion of Burma in its list of delegates is a duty imposed on the congress by the fact that the masses of the people are behind this great National Political Organization and disenfranchised population of Burma are in sympathy with the aspiration of the Congress, for both India and Burma are one in the demand for freedom of the masses whose salvation lies in the attainment of economic independence. I feel confident that this congress will sympathetically respond to the appeal I have made on behalf of the masses of my country for we have as our leaders men whose whole ambition is to give comfort to the poor and the homeless. The time has now come when we can no longer afford to be content with the lights of our broken



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lamps. Let us be united in the freedom and march forward to the glory of a greater freedom that will be borne of the sacrifices of all the provinces that will form the federation of India. The salvation of our country is in our hands and it is you and I who will have to bear the responsibility of building the new temple of freedom that will add to the glory of our status in the comity of nations.

We, the Nationalist Burmans, have worked with the Congress in our common struggle for full responsible Government or Purna Swaraj. We, Burmans, have stood by you in the boycott of the Councils. We Burmans have stood by you in the boycott of the Simon Commission. Like you we were also not represented at the Round Table Conference. Sir, the real wishes of the Burmese people did not therefore find any expression in its deliberations in London. Separation is forced upon us and that too without Dominion Status. Now that the truce has been signed and the Congress is going to be represented at the next Round Table Conference. Sir, may I, on behalf of the Burmese people and the General Councils of all the three great political organisations in that country make a fervent and personal appeal to Mahatma Gandhi to use his great personal influence in securing effective

representation of true National opinion of Burma at the Second Round Table Conference—Burma, which has up to now loyally co-operated with the Congress, and may I be permitted to add, Sir, that not only will the securing of such a representation be a bare act of justice for which my people will be deeply grateful to Mahatmaji but will also give them an opportunity to represent the true wishes, views and opinions of my countrymen at the next session of the Round Table Conference on this grave question of separation which will vitally affect the future of my country.

Pundit Jawaharlal's Speech.

सभापति जी वहनो और भाइयो !

जो प्रस्ताव श्री. मोंग मोंग जीने पेश किया है उसकी मैं तारीफ करने आया हूँ प्रस्ताव बड़ा जरूरी है बात तो यह होनी चाहिये थी कि इस प्रस्ताव की जिम्मेदारी हमारे बर्मी भाइयों पर ही पड़नी चाहिये चूंकि प्रस्ताव में यह कहा गया है कि बर्मी भाइयों का पूर्ण अधिकार है कि जिस बात में वह अपनी भलाई समझें वैसाही करे, असल में कुछ ऐसा हो रहा है कि बर्मी भाइयों का हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ बहुत झकासा जा रहा है उनमें तरह २ की झठी खबरे फैलाई जाती हैं उनको यह बतलाया जाता है कि उनकी भलाई हिन्दुस्तान से अलग ही होने में है कांग्रेस तो पूरी अजादी देती है कि वह वैसाही करे जैसा वह अपने मुस्क के लिये ठीक समझें हम कभी भी यह नहीं चाहते कि अपनी बात उनसे मनवाये ही। अगर बर्मी भाई भारतका एक बराबर का हिस्सेदार होकर रहें तो वह ऐसा करे वरना जैसा वह ठीक समझें। बर्ध Indian Federation का member रहे या न रहे वह हिन्दुस्तान से अलग हो या न हो यह सब जिम्मेदारी बर्मी भाइयों पर ही है उनको ही यह सबतय करना है वही अपने भले का अच्छी तरह से समझ सकते हैं इसलिये यह सवाल उन्हीं के तय करनेका है कि वे क्या करेंगे। इस

प्रस्ताव में तो यह बतलाया है कि इस सवाल पर कांग्रेस क्या राय रखती है कांग्रेस यह तय करदे। कि यह सब कुछ बर्मा भाइयों पर छोड़ती है कि जो ठीक समझें तय करले अंगरेजी हकूमत ने तो यह तय करलिया है कि जैसे भी हो बर्मा को exploit किया जाय उन्होंने बर्मा को exploit करने के नवे २ तरीके निकाले हैं कभी कहते हैं बर्मा के हितमें होगा कि बर्मा को हिन्दुस्तान से अलग कर दिया जाय कभी कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तानी बर्मा को लूटे खाते हैं क्या यह इलजाम हिन्दुस्तानियों के सरपर मढ़ा जा सकता है या अंगरेजों के। यह पुकार मचाई जाती है कि बर्मा को हिन्दुस्तान से अलग कर दिया जाय यह बड़े जोर से propaganda किया जा रहा है कि बर्मा को अगर अपनी तरक्की करनी है तो फौरन ही हिन्दुस्तान से अलग हो जाने की जरूरत है। क्या यह समझा जा सकता है कि इसमें किस की भलाई है अंगरेज जो यह चीपुकार करते हैं कि बर्मा को अलग किया जाय इसमें किस की भलाई है व बर्मा को इस लिये अलग करना चाहते हैं कि जिसमें उन्हें बर्मा को exploit करने का पूरा मौका मिले वह इस लिये कर रहे हैं कि उन्हें कोई रोक टोक करने वाला नहो वह अपने फायदे के लिये यह सब कुछ कर रहे हैं आप जानते हैं कि बर्मा को क्यों अंगरेज इतना चाहते हैं इसमें कई बातें कियी हुई हैं पहिले तो यह कि हैं अंगरेज यह अच्छी तरह से

समझ गये हैं कि बहुत जल्दी ही उन्हें हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ देना पड़ेगा जब हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ना पड़ेगा तो कहीं ना कहीं रो ज़रूर उन्हें अपना कबजा रखना चाहिये इसी लिये वह सिंगा-पुर को अपना जहाजी बीडे का बड़ा भारी अड्डा बना रहे हैं फिर वह यह भी जानते हैं कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान छोड़ना पड़े तो कहींना कहीं तो पावोंजमाना पड़े इसी लिये उन्हें यह फिक्र है कि अगर यहां से हटें तो कम से कम बर्मा में ही पंजा टेक लें। आज कल आप जानते हैं कि दुनिया की सलतनते बड़ी २ सलतनते दुनिया में तरक्की पर हैं वह तेर पर तैरती हैं बर्मा का तेल एक पेसी चीज है जिसको देखकर सबके मुंहमें पानी भर आता है बर्मा के जितने पानी के कुँवे हैं वह सब अंग्रेज व्यापारियों के कब्जे में है बर्मा के मिट्टी के तेलसे जितना फायदा होता है वह सब अंग्रेज व्यापारी उठा रहे हैं इसीलिये तो उनके यह फिक्र है कि जैसे ही हो सके बर्मा को जंग्रेजों के कब्जे से म छुड़ने दें उन्हें यह फिक्र है कि अगर बर्मा को अलग न किया जाय तो हिन्दुस्तानी व्यापारी भी उसके फायदे में शामिल हो सकते हैं।

हम तो यह साफ कर देना चाहते हैं कि अंग्रेज जितना भी propaganda कर रहे हैं वह सब अपने फायदे का है। कांग्रेस यह साफ कर देना चाहती है कि वह बर्मी भाइयों को पुरी स्वतंत्रता देते हैं कि जैसे वह ठीक

समझें करें। बर्मा में बहुत कसरत से तेल के कुप हैं उनका फिक्र बर्मा भाइयों को इतना नहीं जितना अंगरेजों को यह भी नाम लिया जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तानी बर्मा को अलग करने के खिलाफ हैं यह साफ इस प्रस्ताव में कह दीया गया है हिन्दुस्तानी कतई इसके खिलाफ नहीं हैं हम तो यह कहते हैं कि यह सवाल कतई बर्मी लोगों के ऊपर है। सारि आफतें यह तेल की हैं जिस मुल्क के कब्जे में यह तेल होता है उसकी ताकत बड़ी समझी जाती हैं। अंगरेज अपना साम्राज्य कायम रखना चाहते हैं अगर वो हिन्दुस्तानसे निकले तो उन्हें पन्जे टेकने को जगह मिल जायगी। अगर अंगरेजों का कब्जा बर्मा पर रहा तो यह सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान के लिये ही खतरनाक ही न होगा बल्कि सारे पूर्व देशोंके लिये उनका यह कब्जा खतरनाक होगा चीन और जापान भी यह देख रहे हैं कि सिंगापुर तथा बर्मा का कब्जा उनके लिये बहुत ही खतरनाक है यह खतरे हैं जिन्हें हम अच्छी तरहसे समझते हैं कांग्रेस तो यह साफ फहेना चाहती है कि हमने बर्मी भाइयों को पुरी आजादी है होना तो यह चाहिये था कि इस प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन बर्मी ही करते चूँ कि यह सवाल उन्ही से तात्पलुक रखता है आपके सामने प्रस्ताव है आप उसे देखलें उस पर विचार करलें।

Mr. U. Ah Lau Ka's Speech.

The Resolution was supported by Mr. U Ah Lau Ka who said in Burmese "I am glad to have a chance of meeting you this night and to support the Resolution that aims to keep Burma and India together. I am the President of the Sangha Association (Priest Association) and my Association and other national political organisation will not bring us home-rule. We desired to throw our lot with the lot of India and we are confident that the union of these two great countries will bring greater happiness and contentment to the names of the people. I therefore support the Resolution that has been moved by Mr. Maung Maung Ji and seconded by Pandit Jawaher Lal Nehru.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

India's Sympathy with neighbouring countries

RESOLUTION NO. 13:—"This Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with the countries and peoples bordering on India and desires to establish and maintain friendly relations with them. The Congress disapproves of the so-called 'forward' policy of the British Government

in India in the North-West Frontier and of all imperialist attempts to destroy the freedom of the people of the frontier. The Congress is strongly of opinion that the Military and financial resources of India should not be employed in the furtherance of this policy, and the military occupation of the tribesmen's territory should be terminated".

The above Resolution was moved by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Hindi.

मैं नहीं चाहता था कि इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करता मैं कोई दूसरा प्रस्ताव पेश करता। मैं यह चाहता था कि इस रेजुलेशन को कोई दूसरा रखता। हम यह कहते हैं कि हमारी सरहद पर रहने वाले मनुष्यों से कोई लड़ाई नहीं है। मैं प्रस्ताव पढ़ कर सुनाये देता हूँ।

हजरात। पिछले साल में खास कर और वैसे तो कई सालों से हिन्दुस्तान के सरहद पर रहने वाले लोगों के बारे में सुनते आये हैं। ऐसी २ बातें सुनाई जाती हैं सरहद पर एक अजीब लोग रहते हैं, बड़े खूंखार हैं, वह हव्शी हैं। अगर अंग्रेज न होते तो वह हमें खा जाते। हमें जमाने से यह सबक पढ़ाया जाता है कि हिन्दुस्तान की हिफाजत इन हव्शी लोगों से इसी लिये है कि अङ्गरेजी फौज हिफाजत करती है। उनका यह propaganda रहता है कि हिन्दुस्तान को हमलों से बचाने वाले अङ्गरेज हैं। उनका यह propaganda इतना जबरदस्त है कि मुद्दत से वह हमें यह सबक पढ़ाते रहते हैं। बार २ एक ही बात कहने में धोखा हो गया है। और हम दर असल यह समझने लगे हैं कि जो भी अङ्गरेज बोलते हैं वह ठीक है। हम ऐसा यकीन करने लगे हैं कि अङ्गरेज हमारे मुल्क से निकल जायेंगे तो हमारी हिफाजत ही न होगी। हम यह समझने लगे हैं कि सरहद पर वास्तव में खतरा है। कांग्रेस से बाहर यह लोग कहते हैं कि अङ्गरेजों की तलवारें और

तोप गोले ही हिन्दुस्तान की हिफाजत करते हैं। वह ऐसा समझते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान को हिफाजत के लिये अङ्गरेजों का रहना जरूरी है। आप यह सोचिये कि हमें यह सबक कौन सिखाता है, क्या अङ्गरेजों के आने से पहिले हिन्दुस्तान की हिफाजत नहीं होती थी, क्या यहां चोर डाकू ही आते रहते थे बात तो यह है कि इस वक्त अङ्गरेजी तारा बुलन्द है वह जो कुछ कहें हमें वही ठीक जान पड़ता है। आप इस ख्याल को दूर कर दें, मुझे यकीन है कि आप में से कोई ऐसा न होगा जो ऐसा सोचता हो। मैं बीच हिन्दुस्तान का रहने वाला हूं लेकिन मुझे सरहद का भी कुछ Experience अनुभव है, मैं भी उस स्थान में रहता हूं जो कि हिन्दुस्तान की सरहद पर है, मैं भी कुछ अनुभव जरूर रखता हूं। मैं कह सकता हूं कि सरहद पर रहने वाली कौम किस कदर अमन पसन्द हैं अगर उन्हें कोई झगड़ा है या वह कोई शिकायत रखती हैं वह हिन्दुस्तान से नहीं उनकी लड़ाई अङ्गरेजों से ही हो सकती है हमसे नहीं। जब कि उन बैकसूरों पर गोलियां बरसाई जाती हैं तो फिर कहां तक वह अपने बचाने की कोशिश नहीं करेंगे। खां अब्दुल गफ्फार साहब इसकी ताईद करेंगे। मुझे इस बात का दावा है कि गफ्फारखां साहब के नेतृत्व में पठानों में कौमी खिदमत की बू बहुत ज्यादा है।

मैं पूछता हूं कि आखिर यह सवाल क्यों पैदा किया गया। हमें सिखाया गया कि हम यह कहना सीखें कि अभी

तो यहां अङ्गरेजी फौजें हैं अगर अङ्गरेजी फौजें हटा ली गईं तो पठान लोग लूट लेंगे। यह ख्याल खिर्फ हिन्दुओं के लिये ही नहीं पैदा किया गया मुसलमानों को भी ऐसा ही डर गवर्नमेन्ट देती रहती है कि अङ्गरेज न रहे तो चीन जापान तुम्हारे ऊपर काबिज हो जायेंगे। आप अभी से इस मसले पर गौर करें और सोचें कि इस में क्या राज है। हमारे नाम में हमारे पड़ोसियों से दुश्मनी मोल ली जाती है लड़ाई लड़ी जाती है लेकिन हम तो साफ २ कहते हैं कि हमारा कोई दुश्मन नहीं हम तो यह पेलान कर चुके हैं और करते हैं कि कांग्रेस सब पड़ोसियों से हमदर्द है। हम चूँकि गुलाम हैं इसलिये हम मजबूर हैं हमारी चीन, अफगानिस्तान, ब्रह्मा वगैरः से कोई दुश्मनी नहीं। यह धोखा है कि वह इसको हमारी लड़ाइयां समझें जहां भी कहीं हिन्दुस्तानी फौजें लड़ाई के लिये भेजी जाती हैं हम बता देना चाहते हैं कि इसमें हमारा कोई हाथ नहीं होता है। हमें इतमिनान है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हो गया तो यह हमारे ऊपर है कि हम किसी से लड़ाई करें या किसी से यह हमारे ऊपर होगा कि हम कैसा बर्ताव रखें हमें पूरी उम्मेद है कि हम जब आजाद हो जायेंगे तो हमारे मुल्क पर हमले होने का कोई डर नहीं है चूँकि हमारी किसी से दुश्मनी नहीं है। हम काफी गुलाम रह चुके हैं अगर फिर आजाद होना चाहते हो तो अपने डर को दूर करो। हमारे मुल्क के ऊपर इतना बड़ा

भारी बोझा पड़ रहा है कि हमें इतनी बड़ी फौज का खर्च बरदास्त करना पड़ता है। हम दूसरों की दुश्मनी मोल लेते फिरते हैं हिन्दुस्तान और अफगानिस्तान के बीच में कोई दुश्मनी नहीं है। बात यह है कि चूँकि अंगरेज इन के ऊपर गोला बारी करते रहते हैं और इनको हमेशा हवाई जहाजों से गोली बरसाते रहते हैं इसलिये कभी २ वह भी अंगरेजों को तंग कर देते हैं। वह एक बहादुर कौम है वह अपनी आजादी को समझते हैं अगर उन्हें पूरा मौका दिया जाय कि वह आजाद हों तो वह कभी भी किसी के दुश्मन नहीं हैं अंगरेजों की हमेशा यही नीति रही है कि कभी तो उन्हें तंग करते हैं कभी उन्हें उभार देते हैं अंगरेज उनकी तरफ को बढ़ते जाते हैं यह एक लम्बा किस्सा है। अफरीदी भाइयों की कुछ तिजारत हिन्दुस्तान से है। अंगरेजों ने उसे रोक दिया जो २ असली २ चीजें होती हैं वह भी उनके पास नहीं जाने दीं उन को निहायत परेशान किया उनके बाज इलाकों पर भी कब्जा है। अब्बल तो अंगरेज उन्हें चैन से बैठने ही नहीं देते। दूसरी बात यह है कि आइन्दा के लिये वह इनको हमारा दुश्मन बनाते हैं। जब भी कभी इन पर ज्यादाती होती थी तो हम अंगुली भी नहीं उठाते थे आज हम पेलान करें कि हमें उनसे कोई दुश्मनी नहीं है और हम नहीं चाहते कि हमारे नाम में उन से दुश्मनी मोल ली जाय।

Khan Abdul Gafar Khan secnded the resolution Hindustan

Khan Abdul Gafar Khan's Speech

जनाब सदर व हाजरीन जलसा । पेशतर इसके कि मैं आप साहबों की खिदमत में अर्ज करूँ मैं आप लोगों को Tribes सरहदी कौमों के कुछ हालात सुनाना चाहता हूँ हम ऐसे बदकिरमत लोग हैं कि हमारे बारे में दुश्मनों ने बड़ी २ गलत खबरें फैला रखी हैं कभी कहा जाता है कि पठान लोग हिन्दुस्तान को लूट लेंगे कभी कहा जाता है कि अफगानिस्तान गढ़ आयेगा । कभी रूस के हमले का डर दिखाया जाता है । सरहद की हालत इस तरह से है कि इस वक्त ऐसा किया कि हम लोगों को हिन्दुस्तान और रूस के बीच बतौर Buffer state के करार दे दिया गया एक और ऐसा हिस्सा है जो एक आजाद Tribe के नाम से जाना जाता है ।

दूसरा हिस्सा N. W. F. बना रक्खा है उस वक्त पर गवर्नमेन्ट वह नहीं चाहती थी कि इस हिस्से को मिलायें जब जंग के बाद यह खतरा जाता रहा तो वजीर-स्तान को गुलाम बनाया । यह Tribes हिन्दुस्तान का हिस्सा है यह line के इधर के हिस्से में रहते हैं वहां की आप situation देखें तो आप को मालूम होगा कि

उनके साथ हमारे ताअलुकात अच्छे हैं इस झगड़े की इत्तदा कैसे हुई ।

२२ अप्रैल को पेशावर में movement जारी हुआ वहां civil disobedience तहरीक बड़े जोर से चली । हमारे हजारों जवान इसके लिये निकल आये । पेशावर और करीब २ हमारे सूबे के बारे में बहुत कम मजमून गुजरे हैं जो कुछ भी पढ़ा लिखा गया है उससे पता चलेगा कि मजलूम लोगों पर गोलियां चलाई गईं, मोटर लारियों से उन्हें कुचला गया इस पर भी सब्र नहीं आया । ३१ मई को मासूम बच्चों को शहीद किया गया । जब उसकी अर्थी उठाई गई तो गोरे सिपाहियों ने अर्थी पर फैर किये । (Shame धिक्कार)

हिन्दुस्तान में जब यह आन्दोलन movement चला तो पेशावर में भी जलसा किया गया । लोग पेशावर और वन्नु को जा रहे थे जब सल्तनत ने देखा कि हालत यह है कि लोग जमा हो रहे हैं उस वक्त इनके साथ किस्म २ की बातें की गईं जिससे कि हिन्दुस्तान की हमदर्दी से अलग रहें । वह बहुत रुपया देते थे कि हम हमदर्दी न करें फिर उन्होंने उन से कहा कि अच्छा क्या चाहते हो उन्होंने कहा कि सब से पहिले मलँग को छोड़ा जाये, फिर गफ्फारखां को और फिर सब कैदी छोड़े जायं । अंगरेजों ने क्या किया कि उन पर हमला किया उन्होंने

अगर तलवार उठाई तो अपने Defence में मेरे पास इस बात के काफी सबूत हैं कि उन्होंने इन्तदा नहीं की, इन्होंने ही उन के मुल्क में जाकर जंग किया (shame धिक्कार) हमारा तो चूँकि असूल यह है कि मार खायें लेकिन उनका असूल यह नहीं है उन्होंने जो कुछ भी किया वह हमारी हमदर्दी के लिये।

भाइयो अब मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि वह वक्त गया जब कि हम इनकी बातों में आजाते थे अब वक्त नहीं है कि अंगरेजों के धोखे में फंसे रहें। हमें तो वह यह कहते हैं कि हिन्दूस्तान को अगर आजादी मिल गई तो हिन्दुओं का राज्य हो जायगा तुम फिर क्या करोगे, हिन्दुओं को कहा जाता है कि अफगान तुम पर हमला करेंगे। हम सरहद वाले इन बातों को समझ गये हैं। मेरे दूसरे भाई इस बात के लिये लड़ा करते हैं कि councils में हमारी इतनी seats हों, क्या कोई कौम seats से कायम रह सकती है जब तक किसी कौम के अन्दर ताकत नहीं होती वह अपनी हिफाजत नहीं कर सकती। ताकत कुर्बानी से आती है seats से नहीं। यहां सिक्ख पारसी सभी रहते हैं वह कितना जिन्दा कौम हैं। आजादी के लिये लड़ कर कौमों बड़ी २ हकूमतों पर कामयाब हुई हैं। जब तक एक दूसरे पर ऐतबार न करेंगे तब तक हम आजाद नहीं हो सकते। हमारे सूबे के भाइयों को महात्मा गांधी पर ऐतबार है। हम पण्डित जवाहरलाल की उस तकरीर को कि पठान भाई मुझसे कोरा कागज और कलम ले कर जो कुछ मांगना चाहें मागलें, बड़ी मोहब्बत की निगाह से देखते हैं। हम प्रेम और मोहब्बत के लोग हैं मैं मुंह देखे बात नहीं कहूंगा। हम आजादी के लिये मरने को तैयार हैं अगर

फिर अमन का जग जारी हुआ और अगर जरूरत पड़ेगी तो महात्मा जी यह जंग जारी करेंगे तो हम बता देंगे कि हम क्या हैं। (तालियां)

मैं सब भाइयों से अर्ज करूंगा कि छोटी २ बातों पर झगड़ा न उठायें। कहीं पीपल का पेड़ का पत्ता गिर जात है कहीं मसजिद के सामने घण्टी बज जाती है यह बातें मजहब की बनाई जाती हैं। गुलाम कौम का क्या मजहब होता है यह कोई मजहब नहीं रखती। हमें यह अच्छा नहीं लगता कि छोटी २ बातों पर लड़ें। महात्मा जी की Leadership में जो कुछ भी हुआ है उसे तामील किया है। काम खुले दिल होकर करना चाहिये। हमें ऐसा नहीं समझना चाहिये जो कोई भी कुछ करता है वह अपने फायदे के लिये ही करता है। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि एक दूसरे के लिये दिल में प्रेम मोहब्बत पैदा करनी चाहिये। उसके बाद मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि मौजूदा अमाने में जो हमदर्दी हमारे लिये सरहदी भाइयों में हो गई है हम उससे फायदा उठायें और इस मौके को न चूकने दें यह मौका हाथ से नहीं खोना चाहिये। हमने अब तक उनके साथ कुछ भी नहीं किया उन्होंने हमारे लिये हमदर्दी दिखलाई। महात्मा जी से भी कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस सिर्फ पास करके ही इस प्रस्ताव को न छोड़ दे इस पर जबरदस्त Action ले। हकूमत के दिल में चोट है वह कहती है कि तुम ऐसा क्यों चाहते हो कि पेशावर के कैदी छोड़े जायं। हकूमत ने अपना propeganda जारी कर रक्खा है। वह कब चाहती है कि जो गलत फैमियां फैलाई गई हैं वह दूर हों बायसराय साहब ने महात्मा जी से बायदा

किया था कि सब political कैदी जो पिछली लड़ाई में पकड़े गये थे छोड़ दिये जायेंगे और मैं पूछता हूँ हकूमत से कि हकूमत उस वायदे को पूरा करने के लिये क्या कर रही है। पेशावर के अभी बहुत से कैदी हैं जो नहीं छोड़े गये। यह सिर्फ कागज पर ही लिखा हुआ है इन तरीकों पर चल कर हकूमत अमन कायम नहीं रह सकती अगर हकूमत चाहती है कि अमन कायम रहे तो अगर हकूमत महात्मा गान्धी को इजाजत दे तो वह अमन कायम कर सकते हैं। हकूमत अभी अमन नहीं चाहती वह अभी झगड़े चाहती है।

सबे सरहद के जो वाकये आप पढ़ते हैं कि वहां अक्सर डाके पड़ते हैं वह असल में political डाके होते हैं। वह हिन्दू मुसलमानों को यह दिखाने के लिये कि अगर अंगरेज यहां से चले जायेंगे तो हिन्दू मुसलमानों को लूटेंगे और मुसलमान अंगरेजों को। महात्मा जी हकूमत को मजबूर करें कि वह वहां जा कर सब वाकयात देखें कि सैकड़ों रुपया सरहद पर धोखेबाजी से लगाया जाता है महात्मा जी ने अगर उन कौमों को जीत लिया तो करोड़ों रुपया हर साल बरबाद होने से बच जायगा।

जनाबे सदर बहना और माइयो! खां अब्दुल गफ्फार साहब ने सरहद के बारे में चन्द बातें बतलादी हैं मैं यह अर्ज करूंगा कि २३ अप्रैल को पेशावर में एक पूरा अमन जुलूस निकला गोलियां उस जुलूस पर चलाई गईं उस मजदूये में भोले भाले मासूम बच्चे भी थे उनके ऊपर गोलियां चलाई गईं। तुम्हें सुन कर तअज्जुब होगा कि वह गोलियां खाते जाते थे और खुश होते थे आपको यह सुन कर ताजुब होगा कि वह इस तरह से गोलियां खा सकते हैं। उन्होंने जवाब दिया कि हम अमन के साथ मुल्क को आजाद करना चाहते हैं। जब वह अपने २ घरों को लौटे तो मालूम हुआ कि सब गिरफ्तार कर लिये गये उनका कहना था कि मलेग गांधी को छांटो। हकूमत यह समझती

थी कि रूसी हमले की यह शुरुआत है हकूमत ने इस मौके को निहायत अच्छा समझा और हकूमत ने उनके खिलाफ घेलाने जंग कर दिया बर्तानिया फौजों ने खजूरी के मैदानों में डेरे डाल दिये वहां जाडों में जाकर सरहदी अपनी रोटी कमाते थे उस पर हमला किया और उसको कब्जे में कर लिया। जब वह पहाडों में जा छिपे तो उन्हें वहां जाकर घायल किया। हुकूमत ने चार माह में २६ लाख के बम्ब उन पर बरसाये। एक तरफ अफगानिस्तान है दूसरी तरफ चीन है इनको हकूमत दिया सलाई बतलाती है क्या इन बम्बों ने उस दियासलाई से कुछ कम काम किया। हम कब तक ऐसे शिकार होते रहेंगे खजूरी पर अभी हकूमत का कब्जा है। वहां Aeroplane हवाई जहाज मंडराते रहते हैं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि सरहद हमारा दरवाजा है सरहदी दरवान का दर्जा रखते हैं आप यह समझ लें कि महात्मा जी को आवाज खैबर के दर्रे को पार कर गई है। यह सरहदी सिपाही निहायत ही वफादार साबित होंगे जब अदमतशदय की गाडी में बैठ कर सत्योग्रह की लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं तो इन वीर सिपाहियों को भी जगह दें उनको अपने स्थासी Training देदी तो आइन्दा वह खतरा हम से दूर हो जायगा इसके बाद पण्डित जवाहरलाल ने इसमें फर्माया है कि मैं कागज कलम दे दूंगा जो भी वह लिख देंगे मैं उस पर दस्तखत कर दूंगा अगर आप कलम देते हैं तो वे सर दे देंगे बातें बहुत कुछ हैं वक्त थोड़ा है आप इन बातों को दिल में रखते हुए इस रेजुलेशन को पास करो मजलूम सरहदी भाइयों से हमदर्दी जाहिर करो। मैं आखिर में उन मुसलमानों से जो Council में बैठे हैं क्या वह कह सकते हैं कि कांग्रेस हिन्दू Body संस्था है? क्या जब सरहदी भाई हमारे साथ हमदर्दी करते हैं तो हमारा फर्ज नहीं कि अपना इजदार करें। प्रधान—जो इस के पक्ष में हों हाथ उठावें प्रस्ताव सर्व सम्मति से पास हुआ।

प्रधान—अब महात्माजी आखिरी लम्बा प्रस्ताव पेश करेंगे।

RESOLUTION NO. 15. The Swarajya Resolution.

"This Congress is of opinion that in order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. In order therefore, that the masses may appreciate what Swaraj as conceived by the Congress will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. The Congress therefore declares that any constitution that may be agreed to on its behalf, should include the following items, or should give the ability to the Swaraj Government to provide for them.

1. Fundamental rights of the people such as
 - i. Freedom of association and combination.
 - ii. Freedom of speech and press,
 - iii. Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality.
 - iv. No disability to attach to any person of religion, caste or creed in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling :
 - v. Equal rights and obligations of all citizens. No civic bar on account of sex.
 - vi. Equal rights to all citizens of access to and use of public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort.

vii. Right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations made in that behalf and such reservations as may be required for public safety.

2. Religious neutrality on part of the state.

3. A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

4. Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.

5. Protection of women workers, and specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.

6. Prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories,

7. Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration.

8. Substantial reduction of land revenue and rent and in case of uneconomic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary.

9. Imposition of a progressive income-tax on agricultural income above a fixed income.

10. A graduate inheritance tax.

11. Adult suffrage.

12. Free Primary education.
 13. Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one-half of the present scale.
 14. Expenditure and salaries in civil departments to be largely reduced. No servant of the state, other than specially employed experts and the like to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs 500/- per month.
 15. Protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country.
 16. Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.
 17. No duty on salt,
 18. State regulation of the exchange ratio so as to help to Indian industries and bring relief to the masses.
 19. Control by the state or key industries and mineral resources.
 20. Control of usury—direct or indirect.
- * It will be open to the All India Congress [Committee to revise, amend or add to the foregoing so far as such revision, amendment or addition is not inconsistent with the policy and principles thereof.
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Mahatma Gandhi's Speech on Fundamental Rights.

(*Translation of Hindi Speech.*)

THE TWENTY POINTS

In moving the resolution on fundamental rights in the open Congress, Gandhiji, speaking in Hindi, said:

"This resolution is meant for those who are no legislators, who are not interested in intricate questions of constitution, who will not take an active part in the administration of the country. It is meant to indicate to the poor inarticulate Indian the broad features of Swaraj or *Ramaraj*. Before my march to Dandi I had included some of these features in my eleven points. Those have been made more comprehensive. They are now presented to you in a separate resolution. They were advisedly omitted from the main resolution because that would have made that mandate for the delegation burdensome. But by passing this resolution we make it clear to the world and to our own people that we propose to do as soon as we come into power. Let Government also take note of it. Let those who may have to deal with us at the Round Table Conference also take note of the fact that the Vicery, under Swaraj, should not get more than Rs. 500 per month. The position has been made as clear as possible, in order that we may not be accused of having sprung sudden surprises on those who have to deal with us. They are also meant to forewarn all concerned. Let them prepare themselves for the coming legislation by modelling their lives in the light of the coming changes.

"I shall take a few instances. Clause IV of the



Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the delegates of the Indian National Congress through a microphone to accept the terms of the truce arrived at between him and Lord Irwin, the Viceroy. In spite of some opposition he ultimately succeeded and the truce was ratified.

fundamental rights protects the culture, language and scripts of the minority. Now though I am sure that Islamic and Aryan cultures are not mutually exclusive and fundamentally different. I must recognise that Mussalmans look upon Islamic culture as distinctive from Aryan. Let us therefore cultivate tolerance. Let us try to learn the Urdu language and Urdu script and understand the Mussalmans' insistence on it.

Then there is abolition of all disabilities attaching to women, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour etc. The moment this is done; many of the disabilities to which the women are subjected, will cease. So far as the Congress is concerned, we have admitted no such disability. We have had Dr. Besant and Shrimati Sarojani Devi as our Presidents and in the future free state it will be open to us to have women presidents.

Religious neutrality is another important provision. Swaraj will favour Hinduism no more than Islam, nor Islam more than Hinduism. But in order that we may have a state based on religious neutrality, let us from now adopt the principle in our daily affairs. Let not a Hindu merchant hesitate to have deserving Muslims as his employees, and let every Congressman make religious neutrality his creed in every walk of life.

"Item number five deserves the immediate attention of all mill and factory owners who should anticipate human legislation foreshadowed in the clause.

The last item relates to the control of usuary. Islam strictly prohibits the charging of interest but there is no reason why usury should not be regarded as criminal

in a Hindu. The Pathans have forgotten the Islamic injunction, have followed our bad example and are known to charge from 200 to 300 per cent. interest. I wish I could persuade Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan to go to our parts to wean his co-religionists from usury. Let also our bankers and money-lenders betimes make drastic reductions in their rates of interest, lest drastic legislation should find them unprepared. The peasants are being crushed to extinction, so let the money lenders adopt 8 per cent. as the maximum rate to afford the same relief.

"Let the zamindars and the Maharajas be assured that the Congress does not seek to destroy them, but is determined to destroy all wrong and injustice. Let them make an earnest endeavour to understand the grievances of their tenants and introduce adequate measures of relief before legislation overtakes them. It is open to them to join the Congress as Raja Saheb of Kalakankar and Chowdhary Raghuvir Narayan Sinha have done.

"Let it be understood that this resolution by no means has any finality. It is open to the A. I. C. C. to revise, amend or add to the twenty points and so let no one oppose the resolution for mere difference on matters of details. Those however, who are opposed to the policy and principle must reject it, but they must bear in mind that the poor man's Swaraj is soon coming and let them not be found unprepared when it actually comes".

Mr. Sen Gupta's Support.

Mr. Sen Gupta seconding the Swaraj Resolution said;—

"Friends, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi. If what we have said in the last ten years and sincerely said in that we expect in future from the Indian masses to be realised, this resolution must be carried unanimously by the Congress in this session. It is all very well to say, as it has been said for the last ten years, that the Congress stands for the masses. Now the test has come and the Congress has got to pass the test. You know that a large number of us believe that the negotiations with the present British Government might end in failure and the expectation is that the masses of India would come to the rescue of the Indian National Congress in its fight for Swaraj. With what face, then, would you expect the Indian masses to join your movement if you do not act for them if in the swaraj that you are trying to get, the interests of the Indian masses of the poor people of the Villages, of the 90 % of the population are not looked after?

My friends, I was surprised when I was told by some of my friends from this rostrum that we the Congress, do not stand for the masses. My friends, there never was a more libellous and more false these charges levelled against the congress. Could there be a better friend of the masses than Mahatma Gandhi? Could there be a better friend of the poor peasants and labourers than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru? Could there be a better friend of the peasants, the peasants of Gujrat, than the President himself, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel? My friends, believe me that when the Indian National Congress says that we

want Swaraj for India, it means Swaraj for the masses.

It has been said in the Subject Committee—and I hope it will not be repeated in the open session—that this resolution has been drafted hurriedly, has been put through the Subjects Committee hurriedly and that an attempt is being made in the open session to put it through hurriedly. I know how this resolution has come before you, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been thinking about this resolution not only during every day while he has been in Karachi, but this resolution is part and parcel of his political life. He consulted some of his friends, some of them from Bengal, about two days ago. He consulted them, then he consulted Mahatma Gandhi and this resolution is the production of the joint efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru before it was brought before the Working Committee. The Working Committee sat for an hour to discuss it and after that it was presented before the Subjects Committee. And before it might be said that it was passed hurriedly, there was the last sentence added which was to give power to the Working Committee, to revise, amend or add to the other clauses of this resolution. This amendment or addition is not inconsistent with the policy and principles thereof.

My friends, it has been said that this resolution, if carried in the Congress, would create a division in our ranks. I ask you a simple question, Is this programme right or wrong? If it is right, then do not think of annoyance being caused to some people, however influential, who, after all, are but a small fraction of

the total population of India. Let us not open to a charge of deception. Let us give the rich men, the capitalists, Indian or British, notice of what we mean by Swaraj. If they are going to be annoyed, let them be annoyed now rather than after the constitution is already formed. I know that the rich people of this country have helped the Indian National movement in the past. We are thankful to them, for they have helped us all even against their own interest. Therefore, when I am told that this resolution is brought forward against their interests, my answer is that you are judging them wrongly. You remember that when we carried on the National Movement in 1922, the Mill-owners, the rich people, the Zamindars came along and helped us and opened their purse strings. Not only that. During this very movement which we carried on last year, how did the rich people behave? Even the foreign cloth dealers gave money for carrying on the national campaign. If it is the right thing that you have placed before yourselves, you may be certain that both the rich and the poor will help you. I submit that it is an unfair charge that the Indian merchants, the Indian Zamindars, the Indian Mill owners would not come to our rescue because they have framed the programme of swaraj to benefit the 90% of the population of India.

My friends, it has been said that this resolution has been hurriedly drawn up and that an attempt is being made to carry it in hurried manner. I shall read to you the items. There are altogether 20 items, but if you include 8 of the fundamental rights, the number would be about 28 and I shall show you that every one of the items in this resolution is an item

to which we cannot take objection and almost every one of which has been accepted by the Congress before. Take the fundamental rights. They are old as the Congress. They have been included in the Nehru report. Except for a word here and for a word there, most of the items are included in the Nehru Report. Item 11 is one of the 11 points of Mahatma Gandhi to have the power to reduce the cost of administration by half. So also Item 15. In regard to item about ratio, we have taken away the word "ratio". We say that the Government should have the power to control currency policy but not ratio, in the interests of the masses. There are just 5 items in 20 which are new. All the other ones were accepted by the Congress long ago.

Friends, two delegates have sent me a paper asking me to make certain amendments in the resolution. I shall take their suggestions back to the President and consult Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal and ask them whether it will be possible for them to accept these amendments. An announcement will be made shortly whether the amendments are acceptable.

Now, it has been said that swaraj has been defined in four different ways already, and this is the fifth definition of swaraj. That is a clever way of putting the thing against us. And there is absolutely no difference between what Mahatmaji said at Lahore and what he said in his letter to the Viceroy from the Yeravada Jail, and what we are saying to-day in the resolution. When we talk of Swaraj, we mean swaraj for the poor people. And, after all, when he said in his letter to the Viceroy from the

Yerravada Jail that wanted power in the constitution to halve the cost the administration of India. What did that mean? It meant relief to the poor people. It means relief to the majority of the people of India who are not getting enough food to eat, who are actually starving. In one of his famous 11 points Mahatmaji says that we should have the power to halve the military expenditure. Then again we ask for power to reduce our land revenue by half, to take away the ban on the manufacture of salt in India and so on. We want Swaraj for the masses and exactly that very idea has been incorporated in this resolution.

Friends, an objection has been raised by some who ask, how are we going to have all these things incorporated in the constitution. They forget that we do not want every one of the items to be incorporated in the constitution. Generally fundamental rights find a place in most constitution and therefore so far as those which can find a place in the constitution are concerned, they will be provided for in the constitution itself. But as far as other items in this programme are concerned, we want in the constitution the power to be given to the people of the land to carry on, to work according to the programme laid down in other items. The last sentences of the first paragraph makes it perfectly clear that the congress declares that any constitution which may be agreed to, should give us the power to carry our programme. The fundamental rights are to be incorporated in the constitution itself. If we have the power in the constitution to carry out what we have chalked out in the programme, believe me, that it will be Swaraj, it will be complete independence for the masses to whom we look, on whom we rely, to give battle again if the negotiations fail. (cheers).

Mr. Prakasam's opposition to the Res. lution.

Mr. T. Prakasam in opposing the Swaraj Resolution said,

Brother and Sister delegates,

I have come here to tell you not to support the Resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi at this juncture. It is not an opportune moment for moving a resolution of that nature. It was only yesterday that the whole house representing 35 crores of the people of India gave absolution power of plenipotentiary to Mahatma Gandhi empowering him to choose his own associates to the Congress Delegation to London and to press on behalf of India for Purna Swaraj. At such a time it is not proper that a long list should be given of what the Swaraj Government is going to do. That can come when Swaraj is established. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi led the Civil Disobedience Movement last March for about a year in order to obtain a Swarajya which will be for the benefit of the masses of Indians, doing justice between man and man in this Country.

Under the circumstances you all know that nobody distrusts Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody believes that Mahatma Gandhi is going to favour those who are rich and leave the masses to themselves when he is getting Swaraj. It is unnecessary that the Congress or the Working Committee should think that there might be a misapprehension in the minds of the people on account

of the cries raised by some. That is why I submit that you should consider seriously whether this resolution should be placed before you at all and your very good time taken up over it. This long list that so many things should be done, is inopportune. It is the people of India with their representatives in the Parliament that would secure freedom of the country. What is the use of thinking about what all will be done in the Swaraj constitution even before the delegation is on its way to England to meet the representatives of Great Britain. I submit that this is not the way in which this question should be dealt with. I am suggesting that when people send their representatives to the Round Table Conference the delegates will go far far beyond what is contained in the Resolution. It was not long ago that there was a commission appointed by the Government of India to go into agricultural matters. There was a big report issued by the Agricultural commission in which they had recommended Income-tax on Agricultural income. Now, there are certain modifications suggested in the Resolution over this question which go counter to the recommendations made by the Agricultural commission. There are other suggestions also, which I submit, it is not opportune to discuss at this moment. All of us know that Mahatma Gandhi is the only one person who can be trusted to see that justice is done between man and man, without regard to the position of the persons concerned. I say that there is absolutely no need for the Congress to pass this resolution. I am afraid by doing so there would be room for wrong interpretation. I submit therefore that this proposition should not be allowed to pass in this session.

With regard to the labour question, nobody can deny that justice should be done to labour. There are other points upon which there will be considerable and there would be the desire of all of you—that Mahatma Gandhi and his Delegation should receive the co-operation of all of us and secure what could not have been got by those who had gone to England before. It is not by mere logic that Mahatma Gandhi is going to get Swaraj. I therefore submit to this house that this resolution should not be passed.

Mr. Pillai's Support.

Mr. A. M. Pillai (Tuticorin) in support of the Resolution said,

Mr. President and friends,

I am sorry I am not able to speak in any other language than English. I am a Tamilian and I come from the Southern—most part of India. You must bear with me if I am not able to address you in Hindi or in any other language. I am here before you to speak as the Catholic Indian. I thank the President for the kindness with which he has permitted me and for having given me an opportunity of addressing you to-day. The one reason that has prompted me to approach the President to allow me to address you to-day is that I am a Catholic Indian. I find that the Indian Catholics are not coming forward to take part in the movement which is trying to achieve the freedom of India. The reason for their not coming forward is their diffidence to know what it would be if India attained Swaraj. Now I am indeed glad to find that Mahatma Gaudhi has explained what Swaraj

will be to our millions in India. After this explanation there should be no room for doubt in the minds of any Christian. I am proud to say that no country in the world is more of Christian than India. If it can be said rightly, India is the only country that can be called Christian in the true sense of the word. Ever since Christ came into the world it is India which has been practicing his teachings and it becomes the duty of every Christian to say "I shall work for the freedom of this country. I shall do whatever is possible for the freedom of my country." I am proud indeed to say this. I ask my brothers and sisters not to shirk their duty. Let every Christian come forward to work with all his might for the freedom of our motherland.

One word more and I have done. The Christians need not any more be afraid when we have got a leader in Mahatma Gandhi who has been doing all this primarily according to the Sermon on the Mount. It is the bounden duty of every Christian therefore to vote, sincerely for this resolution to win freedom for our dear motherland.

Pundit Sharma spoke in Hindi in support of the resolution.

Resolution was put to vote and carried by a large majority.

Vote of Thanks

Dr. Choithram, Chairman of the Reception Committee then mounted the Rostrum and spoke in Hindi thanking all those who had worked for the Congress session.

Devi Sarojini Naidu proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman of the Reception Committee and others said, "A general complaint has been made that women are not taking sufficient part in the Congress proceedings. When the air is full of the spirit of non-discrimination, I do not see why it is necessary that a woman must speak. However, I wish to place before you most gratefully a resolution which I hope you will all accept with great acclamation. It is the resolution of giving expression to our thanks to the members of the Reception committee beginning with the wonderful invalid Dr. Choithram who, as you know, has suffered agony in flesh and mind but is most triumphant in spirit. To him and to all his co-workers and to all the volunteers, men and women, without discrimination and to all those who have laboured so lovingly and strenuously to make this Congress session a triumphant one in the name of the dedication of service to the country, I offer our enthusiastic gratitude. Our sincere thanks are also due to the plenipotentiary of all the Congress arrangements and uncrowned King of Karachi, Jamshed Mehta. I do not want to detain you for more than a minute.

We have met under the shadow of a great calamity. We have met with sorrow in our hearts. We met with tears still wet in our eyes, under the shadow of that tragedy to which you have referred to often in the past session. We close with a note of tragedy, because while we are discussing the future, two more young men, Gupta and Biswas are to be led to the gallows and to them also we offer our recognition of their great patriotism.

One more heroic death, we have to recall-in the person of Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, a death that casts a halo on the pride and glory of the Indian Nation. It is a martyrdom so gladly undertaken by Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, who did not know how to discriminate between Hindus and Muslims, between creed and creed, culture and culture, man and man. The Hindu Muslim Unity will, I hope, be cemented by the blood of this great martyr.

I do not want to emphasise unduly the importance of this congress session. I do not want to underline unnecessarily all the qualities of the decisions you have reached. You have made not history but the guarantee of history. I do not know what may be the outcome in the immediate future of the resolution referred to for sending the delegation to confer on equal terms with the British people. I do not know whether the response of Great Britain will be adequate to the demands of the Indian Nation. But this much I can say that you have chosen a leader, the like of whose personal power has not been surpassed and rarely equalled in the history of the World. No teacher or prophet in his own lifetime, be it Buddha or Christ, has had so much personal power and prestige as Mahatma Gandhi has acquired in his. In our struggle for 'freedom we have the inspiration of a personality with the name and fame of Mahatma Gandhi. He is your leader. Gandhi can only be your leader. If you have not the will to win freedom a thousand Gandhis cannot create freedom in the heart of the people. A thousand Gandhis cannot prevent freedom if you are determined to have freedom. Those who have known the Indian Nation during the past year,

giving a hard battle to the beaurocracy, will realise that we, meeting under the starry heaven, under the open sky, with the sea not so distant instilling into us the lullaby of freedom to our hearts content, which determination of freedom for India, we have been so much longing for, would win freedom for India and with the freedom of India free the world.

Concluding the 45th Session of the Indian National Congress shortly after midnight, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said:—

When I left Delhi for Karachi I had grave misgivings about the circumstances under which we were meeting. The atmosphere throughout the country was surcharged with indignation and grief. The youth had been terribly affected. Let God be thanked that in spite of our fears, we have been able to conduct our deliberations successfully. Of all the resolutions, the most important is one about the truce. There is nothing to be ashamed of in the truce. We are bound by it. The youth must realise that a settlement which has the approval of Pt. Jawaharlal cannot be anything about which anybody could have any misgiving. The youths have called this truce a deception and the lowering of the flag, but you must realise what must have been the state of things but for the truce. Our warfare is based on truth and love which makes it necessary that when the opponent raises the white flag we should put the sword into the scabbard but at the same time a Satyagrahi should keep his hand on the clasp of the sword and keep the weapon well-polished and ready. Youngmen should not mind waiting, say, for six months. Mahatmaji and myself are old. We can

hardly afford six months yet we want to live to see India free.

Somebody complained about the *kisan* rights being trampled under foot. I want to say that I have taken the greatest pains for organising the peasants and made them undergo the greatest sacrifices for the country. In my love for *kisans* I am a young man though old in years. I want the youth to give up these petty squabbles and wait and see for six months. The congress cannot be the property of an individual however great. It belongs to the youth because the country is theirs. I am a mere *kisan* and it is your love which has made me the head of national India to-day.

As regards demonstration at the Railway station on the day of our arrival though Mahatmaji was not affected by it. I felt greatly sorry that was not the way. You must follow the path of truth and lay down your lives for it. You must ignore the mistakes of Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Nehru and Mr. Patel, if what they do, does not commend itself to you.

Alluding to the confirmation of the death sentence on Dinesh Gupta and Biswas, he said that government had once committed a great blunder. It should not repeat that blunder. If government really want to win the goodwill of the people they should give up this policy of vindictiveness. I believe the way to bring Government to the right course is to strengthen the Congress. We should not adopt any wrong line of action. Let Government do so.

Appealing to foreign cloth merchants, the President

urged them to follow the Congress resolution, Sardar Vallabhbhai said: I give you a warning that if you do not give up the nefarious trade you will repent because the Congress is going to be a thousandfold power

The second important resolution is of the fundamental rights. I believe only in one constitution. Pundit Jawaharlal is full of love of service. He will not intentionally propose anything undesirable for the country. Zamindars can be cowed down by anybody. The peasant is starving at home and the zamindar is rolling in luxury and immorality. Certainly it could not be wrong if these things are made to go again.

The Frontier province has been the victim of great atrocities. From that quarter hails the true soldier who can be an example for all Congress and has been growing in strength during last ten years under Mahatma's leadership. That strength is being recognised by the world to-day. Why should we now lose faith in his leadership? You work on and none can block your way to freedom." (*cheers*)

The proceedings then terminated at midnight on the 31st March 1931.

**Statement of accounts Receipts and
Payments 45th Indian National Congress
Karachi as on 30th November 1931.**

RECEIPTS.

To Donations	89299	6	0
„ Reception Committee Fees Account	50125	0	0
„ Visitors' Tickets (Gentlemen)	51441	0	0
„ Visitors' Tickets (Ladies)	13465	0	0
„ Subjects Committee Tickets.	24150	0	0
„ Special Demonstration Lecture	10846	12	0
„ Students' Fees	5305	0	0
„ Delegates Cards	19565	0	0
„ Food Ticket.	5632	0	0
„ Accomodation Rent Account	10312	2	6
„ Stall Rent Account	13585	0	0
„ Volunteers' Equipment	5616	9	3
„ Lost property a/c.	68	9	6
„ Realisation by sale of lighting materials	2197	0	0
„ Realisation by sale of other things	10694	5	3
„ Interest Realized	1455	8	4
„ Adjustment payable items (Vide Contra)	500	0	0
	<u>314247</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>
C/F	Rs. 314247	13	2

Note:— Audit Memo submitted.

Examined and Found Correct.

M. B. DALAL & Co.

Accountants & Auditors.

Karachi, 4th December 1931.

EXPENDITURE.

By Expenses :—General.

Postage ...	...	166	15	0		
Telegrams ...	...	274	7	0		
Establishment ...	...	2282	2	3		
Insurance Premium ...	...	640	0	0		
Telephone Charges ...	...	857	8	0		
Printing and Stationery and Advertisement ...	...	5040	6	0		
General & Miscellaneous Expenses...	...	3552	1	3		
Travelling Expenses ...	...	1618	10	6		
General Propaganda Music etc. ...	...	382	6	3		
					14814	8 3
„ Transport & Shipping, Committee Exps:					2186	14 0
„ G. O. C. Camp Expenses ...	...				7305	11 9
„ Processions Committee Expenses ...	...				696	3 2
„ Pandal Equipment a/c ...	...				5790	1 9
„ Lighting Charges & Fittings ...	...				21298	14 5
„ Nagar Construction a/c ...	...				99198	15 10
„ Food Committee Expenses...	...				22793	4 9
„ Volunteers Equipment ...	...				12222	14 9
„ Khadi Exhibition Committee on a/c Exhibition. ...	...				6000	0 0
„ Furniture & Fittings a/c ...	...				1072	13 8
„ Delegates fees a/c paid to All India Con- gress Committee. ...	...				1562	8 0
„ Realization a/c Expenses in demolishing and winding up. ...	...				2189	4 0
„ Lost Property, Cash short written off ...					129	4 0
					C/F 211325	14 2

Brought forward

211325 14 2

.. Adjustment Recoverable A/c.

Donation	...	2500	0	0
Advances ...	...	500	0	0
Tickets sale	...	200	0	0
Sundries ...	...	63	15	0

3263 15 2

(Included in Contra)

**.. Sind Provincial Congress
Committee.**

Honorarium payable to Auditors, (Vide
contra)

... 500 0 0

.. Remittances to All India Congress

Committee

...30000 0 0

Brought forward

...

... 245089 13 2

By Bank and Cash Balances :

Call Deposits with Local

Banks ... 65000 0 0

Cash on Current a/c with Local

Bankers. ... 4071 6 8

Cash in hand, ... 86 9 6

69158 0 2

Rs. 314247 13 4